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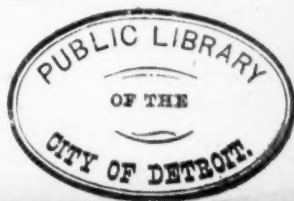
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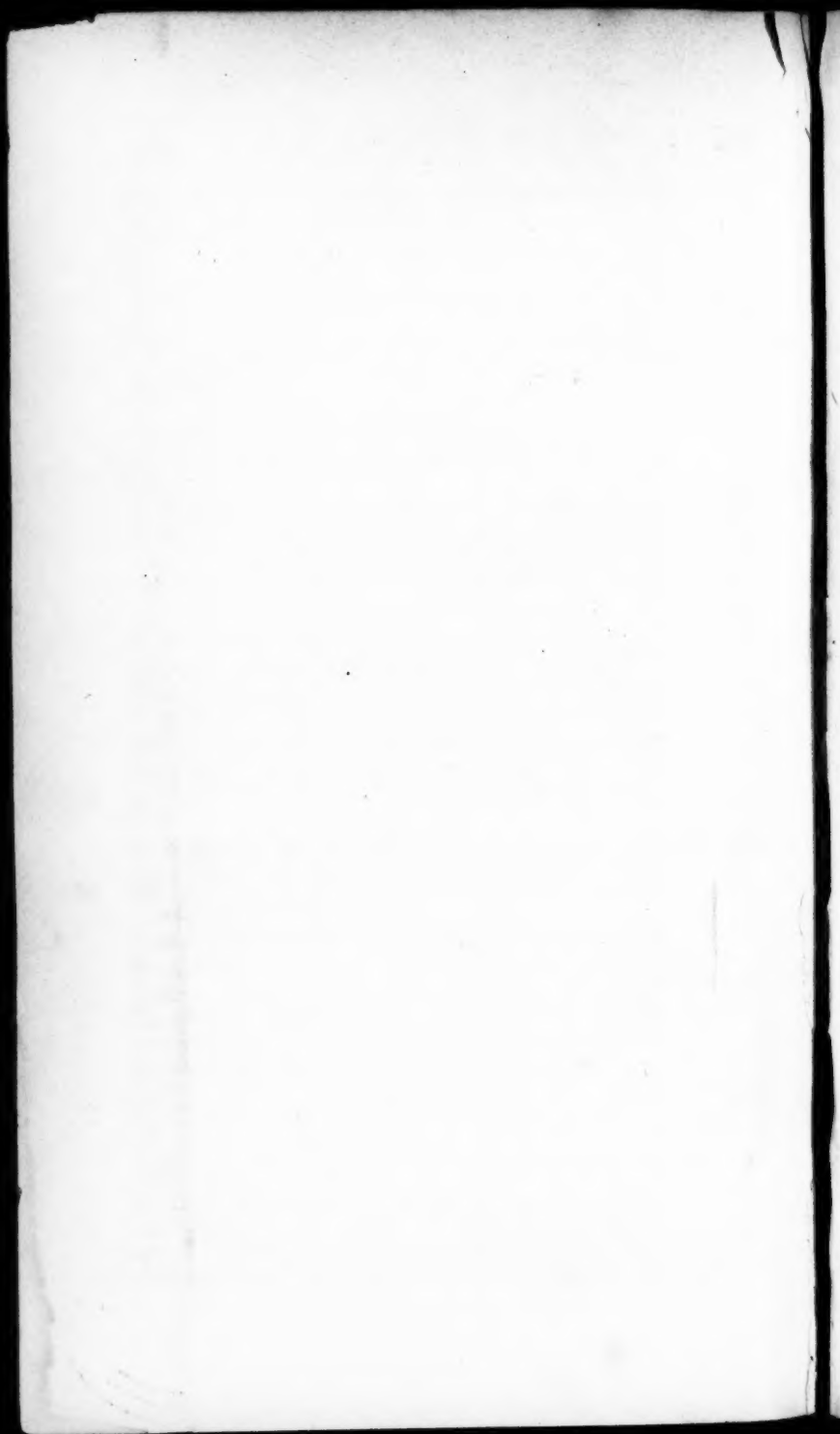
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- ART. I.—1. *The Monster Telescopes, erected by the Earl of Rosse, Parsons-town, with an Account of the Manufacture of the Specula, and full Descriptions of all the Machinery connected with these Instruments.* Illustrated by Engravings. Second Edition, 8vo. Parsons-town: 1844.
2. *Address of the Earl of Rosse to the British Association at York, on Monday, September 30, 1844, on the Reflecting Telescopes lately constructed by him.* (Athenæum, Oct. 5.) London: 1844.
3. *Observations on some of the Nebulæ.* By the Earl of Rosse, F.R.S., &c. (Reprinted from the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* for 1844.) 4to. London: 1844.
4. *An Account of Experiments on the Reflecting Telescope.* By the Right Honourable Lord Oxmantown, F.R.S., &c. (*Philosophical Transactions* for 1840.) London: 1840.

IN the Museum of Natural History at Florence, is preserved a relic, which, from its mean appearance and diminutive size, may possibly escape the notice of a casual visitor.\* And yet we doubt whether Florence, among all her other priceless treasures of ancient and modern art, possesses any thing half so interesting to the lover of science. It is the TELESCOPE OF GALILEO—the very instrument with which, as the inscription records, “he discovered the spots of the sun, the lunar mountains, the satellites of Jupiter, and, as it were, an entire new uni-

\* We believe this is hardly possible since the new and tasteful arrangement of the gallery. We speak of what was the case some years back.—The inscription is by Lanzi, and is worth transcribing:

“Tubum opticum vides, Galileii inventum et opus, quo maculas solis, et extimas Lunæ montes, et Jovis Satellites, et novam quasi rerum universitatem, primus desepxit. A. MDCIX.”

verse;" casting new light on the most mysterious phenomena of astronomy, substituting observation for conjecture, and banishing for ever the visionary theories and pedantic forms, by which truth had hitherto been disguised and concealed. And though the deductions of the illustrious inventor himself were, in some respects, halting and imperfect, it is true, nevertheless, to say, that to him we are ultimately indebted for all that has since been discovered. For, to use the eloquent illustration of one whose very name is an authority on such a subject, "this tiny combination—a telescope which the observer held between his fingers, or had in the hollow of his hand—was the mustard-seed of those mighty trunks which now rise majestically to the heavens, and on which the astronomer perches himself, like the eagle upon the lofty cedar, to obtain a nearer glance of 'the God of Day!'"

It requires no ordinary effort of the mind to pass from the telescope of Galileo to the telescopes of modern times, and to follow the successive links in the chain of improvement by which these extremes are connected. What an infinity of industry and genius—how many days of toilsome study, how many nights of watching and anxiety, fill up the interval! How would the fiery Florentine, as he gazed in fond triumph upon his little tube, have stared in incredulous amazement, had he been told of the "monster telescopes" of our day—so unwieldy as to be moved only by the most massive machinery, and so enormous, that one of the dignitaries of the church—seldom very shadowy personages—could *walk with outspread umbrella through the tube!*\* And yet, prodigious as is this contrast of dimensions, the contrast of results is still more wonderful. Galileo thought it an extraordinary triumph—and so it undoubtedly was—to discover the lunar mountains.—Lord Rosse's three-feet reflector is reported capable of showing any object on the moon's surface of the size of one of our ordinary public buildings!† The range of Galileo's telescope was practically confined to the nearer bodies of our system; its effect on the more distant, was hardly perceptible.—In the modern instruments, the observer scarcely dares to expose his eyes to the blaze of the nearer lumi-

\* "The Dean of Ely walked through the tube (of Lord Rosse's six-feet reflector) with his umbrella up!" *North British Review*, No. iii. p. 207.

† Dr. Robinson's Address to the British Association at Cork, 1843. *Athenæum* No. 830, p. 867.

naries!.\* And thus, while Galileo's telescope is now almost exclusively confined to the nearest objects, and degraded to the humble uses of a mere opera-glass, its more ambitious successors walk abroad

"Throughout those infinite orbs of mingling light;"

prying into the most distant realms of space—regions of which Galileo, all daring as he was, never dreamed, even in his wildest speculations—distances for which the nomenclature of arithmetic can hardly find an expression, and of which, even when represented to the eye by long lines of figures, the mind can form but a vague and indefinite conception!

We should ill discharge our duty of chronicling the progress of science and literature in Ireland, did we omit to record an event which is destined to form an epoch in the history of astronomy—the successful termination of the experiments on the improvement of the reflecting telescope, in which our distinguished countryman, the Earl of Rosse, has been engaged for a series of years. We had intended to defer our notice till the performance of the gigantic instruments which he has constructed should have been fully tested. But in deference to the anxiety universally expressed upon the subject, we have been induced to abandon our first intention; and we, therefore, proceed, at once, to lay before our readers, as far as shall be compatible with the limited space at our disposal, the most important results which have been hitherto obtained. The subject is one which it is difficult to divest of technicality; we shall endeavour to avoid it, as far as this may be possible, confining ourselves to a plain and popular account of the processes employed in the construction of the telescopes, the principles by which they have been guided, the difficulties which have been successfully surmounted, and the principal facts elicited by the very limited trial which, as yet, it has been found possible to give the instruments since the time of their completion.

To those who have studied the progress of any of the

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\* "Intent on far discovery, Herschel seldom looked at the larger stars; and, because their blaze injured his eyes, he rather evaded their transit. But at one time the appearance of Sirius announced itself at a great distance like the dawn of morning, and came on by degrees, increasing in brightness, till this brilliant star at last entered the field of the telescope with all the splendour of the rising sun, and forced me to take my eyes from the beautiful sight." *Nichol's Architecture of the Heavens*, p. 31. The same is even more true of Lord Rosse's three-foot telescope.

modern arts—who have watched the prodigious advances of the steam-engine, the rapid development of practical chemistry, the ingenious refinement of almost every mechanical process, the power-loom, the paper-machine, the printing-press—it may seem strange, that, after a period of nearly two centuries and a half, during which it has unceasingly occupied the most acute minds and the most skillful hands in every country of Europe, the perfection of the telescope should still remain an unsolved, perhaps, an insoluble problem. To understand this seeming anomaly, it might be enough to remember, that the objects upon which the other arts are employed, are immediately under the hands of the artist, and, at least indirectly, controllable at his pleasure; while the field of telescopic action is amid the distant spheres, far removed beyond the reach, not alone of the hands, but almost even of the imagination, of the artist. But no curious inquirer will rest here. In order to appreciate fully, and, indeed, even to comprehend, the nature of the operations on which the improvement of the telescope depends, and to which Lord Rosse's eminent success is attributable, it will be necessary to review, briefly, the difficulties which lie in the way of the perfection of this important instrument; and to describe the various efforts by which, at different times, it has been sought to overcome them. If, in thus accommodating our observations to the convenience of the general reader, we shall be compelled to dwell upon things which must appear almost as first principles to our scientific friends, we can only hope that the motive may be accepted as our apology.

It might seem at first sight, that, the principle of the telescope once discovered and applied, the perfection of the instrument was comparatively easy. If the combination of a convex and concave lens (Galileo's telescope), of a given magnifying power, had the wondrous effect of causing dim and distant objects to appear more brilliant and nearer to the observer, it would not seem unreasonable to expect, that, by increasing the magnifying power of the lenses, the effectiveness of the telescope might be indefinitely increased; and as it was known, that the magnifying power of the lens increases in certain proportions with its aperture or surface, the first sanguine conclusion was, that, were it only possible to procure lenses of considerable size, the whole work was accomplished. And, indeed, the theory of vision with a telescope would seem to countenance and

confirm this expectation. Though the explanation is far from complete, our meaning will be sufficiently understood when we state, that the eye is said to see distant objects, whenever the rays of light which emanate from them are sufficiently numerous and powerful to affect the retina in that unexplained and mysterious way which is called the sensation of sight. Now, as the rays emanate from a luminous body in straight lines, which diverge from each other in every direction, it is plain that the divergency of the rays from each other, or the thinness of the light, increases in proportion to the distance of the body; and, consequently, that the number of rays falling within any given space proportionally diminishes. As the number of rays falling within the aperture of the pupil diminishes, the retina is less sensibly affected, and the apparent brilliancy of the body declines; and when the number ceases to be sufficient to affect the retina *at all*, the body becomes practically invisible to the observer. This invisibility, however, is clearly *relative*. The object, in such circumstances, is invisible to the observer, not because *no* rays from it reach the place where he stands, but because, in consequence of their extreme dispersion, the number which falls within the pupil of his eye is practically insufficient to affect the retina with the sensation of seeing. And if the aperture were increased, the number of rays received within it would be increased, and the sensation of vision would be at once restored. And such is the very provision by which nature produces this effect. By a spontaneous action of the delicate mechanism of the eye, as the quantity of light diminishes, the aperture is enlarged; and every one has observed, that the night birds, as the owl and bat, which voyage in the dark, are provided with enormously dilated pupils, through which a greater number of rays are introduced into the eye, and, being collected into a focus, are made to act upon the retina. Now, if a medium of such size as to collect a sufficient quantity of rays, and possessing the power of causing them to fall in this collected form upon the eye, be placed in front of the pupil, the effect will be the same,\* as though the pupil had been proportionately enlarged. And thus the object-glass of the refracting

\* This is not strictly true, as light is lost both in refraction with a lens, and reflexion with a mirror. In the former, the light received is, to the light transmitted after refraction, :: 1 : .938. In the latter, the light received is, to the light transmitted after two reflexions, (which occur in all reflecting telescopes except the Herschelian) :: 1 : .45242.

telescope, or the speculum of the reflector, is, to speak loosely, nothing more than an artificially enlarged pupil; and the quantity of light thus conveyed to the eye is as much greater than that received without their aid, as their aperture exceeds that of the natural pupil for which they are substituted. Thus, too, it is, that the distance of objects is apparently diminished by the use of such lenses. For we judge of distance by the sensation. Now the sensation produced by the artificially increased quantity of light in-pinging upon the retina, is precisely the same as what we should have, were we brought so much nearer to the object as to receive, naturally, the same quantity of light within the unassisted aperture of the pupil.

Hence, a hasty application of the analogy from this natural process might lead one to imagine, that, as the only apparent provision which Nature makes for increased vision is the enlargement of the pupil, so, in order to produce an indefinite increase of magnifying power with the telescope, it would only be necessary to procure lenses of sufficiently large diameter. But, unfortunately, the materials at our command are very different from those which Nature employs in her seemingly simple, but most mysterious operations. Unfortunately, too, our knowledge even of those materials which we possess is limited and conjectural; and, even such as it is, is only to be acquired by long and laborious research, embarrassed by many an unexpected obstacle, and embittered by many a harassing failure. To the perfection of vision with the telescope, certain conditions are clearly necessary;—it must show the object well magnified, brilliant, and, above all, distinct and in its true shape; and although Nature might seem, at the first blush, to make no provision for the attainment of these conditions, beyond the enlargement of the pupil, yet a nearer scrutiny of her process detects a provision for securing them all, so exquisitely delicate, and so perfect in its entire organization, as almost to baffle the hope of imitation. In order, therefore, to construct a good telescope, the artist must provide for all these conditions. If he had to deal with them singly, his task would be comparatively easy; but in extending the efficiency of the telescope, he must preserve the collective proportions of them all. He cannot purchase magnitude in the image at the expense of true figure or of brilliancy; nor, above all, can he sacrifice distinctness to any other condition, how-



ever important for its own sake. Now it unfortunately happens, that the means by which some of these properties would be secured, are precisely those which tend to diminish, and ultimately to destroy, others equally indispensable. Thus it is plain, for example, that with a given quantity of light, any attempt to *magnify* the image must diminish its *brilliancy*; for if the rays be dispersed over a greater space, the number in each particular point will be proportionately less.

This, however, is a difficulty which science would soon overcome, had she unlimited command of the requisite materials. But, unluckily, the artist is met at his very first step towards increasing the magnitude and brilliancy of the image, by enlarging the aperture, by other difficulties which arise from the nature of the media which he is constrained to employ. The learned reader will anticipate, that we refer to those embarrassing phenomena known among opticians by the names of *spherical aberration* and *chromatic aberration*. It would carry us quite beyond our limits to enter into their nature; we must content ourselves with briefly indicating their source.

In order that a true image should be produced by a refracting lens or a mirror, it would be necessary that all the rays should be accurately collected into one focus after refraction or reflexion. There are certain geometrical figures (the paraboloid and the ellipsoid), by which (if it were possible to attain them with perfect mathematical precision) accuracy of reflexion would be secured. But it is found so difficult in practice to impart these figures to lenses and mirrors, that artists are generally compelled to content themselves with a good spherical form. Now, in a spherical lens (and the same is true of a speculum) the centre and adjacent parts form their image in a nearer focus than the circumference and the parts near the circumference. The consequence is a confusion of images, somewhat similar, except, of course, on an infinitely minute scale, to what any one may see when the shadows of the same object, formed by rays from different lights, meet upon a wall. This is called *spherical aberration*, because it is a consequence of the use of spherical lenses and mirrors.

The second—chromatic aberration—is still more serious. Every person is acquainted with the fact, that white, or compounded light, is not homogeneous, but may be

resolved into various kinds, distinguished by Newton into seven, and by others into four, primary colours. Now, the rays of different colours are not all equally refrangible by the same medium; and the difference of their refrangibility by glass (the substance ordinarily employed for lenses), is the cause of a very material imperfection of the image, which is called (from the name) *chromatic* aberration. It is found, that the red rays are the least refrangible, and the violet, the most so; the refrangibility of the rest, being intermediate between that of the two extremes. From this unequal refrangibility it results, that the rays of the several colours cannot be all collected into the same focus; the most refrangible (violet) form their image nearest the lens; the least refrangible (red) form it most remote; the rest, at intermediate intervals. And the consequence is, that, though all have their foci in the axis of the lens, yet this axis, instead of presenting one unbroken and distinct image, shows a series of images, formed more or less perfectly by the separate rays, all blended confusedly together, and surrounded by a coloured fringe.

Such are, briefly, the sources of the confusion and indistinctness of images known under these names. They have been the great obstacle to the progressive improvement of the telescope; and it is to their mitigation or removal, that all the efforts of successive artists have been directed. The history is among the most interesting in the entire study of optics.

The cause of the first—spherical aberration—was early discovered. In Galileo's telescopes it was not very sensible, because as they consisted of a convex and concave lens, the opposite curvatures corrected each other's aberration. But as soon as the concave lens was dispensed with, it at once became apparent. It is inconsiderable, when compared with the chromatic aberration; still, as it increases rapidly with the aperture of the object-glass,\* it was a serious obstacle to the enlargement of this—the great source of telescopic power. It decreases, however, as the focal length of the object-glass is increased,† and, hence, we find the first effort to correct this imperfection in the enormous focal length of the telescopes of the first epoch. Galileo had no occasion to employ this device;

\* It varies as the square of the diameter.

† When the aperture is constant the aberration varies inversely as the focal length.



but the principle was soon applied by those who followed in his steps, especially by Giuseppe Campani, Divini, and Huygens. The first of these constructed lenses of 34, 86, and even 140 feet focal length. Divini, too (celebrated for his obstinate and dogged denial of Huygens's discovery of Saturn's Ring) constructed telescopes of very long focus. But both were far surpassed by Christian Huygens, whose telescopes reached a focal length of 100, 120, 156, 174, and even 210 feet; and still more by Auzout, who constructed a glass (which, however, he never was able to mount) of no less than 600 feet focus! To facilitate the management of such enormous machines, Huygens adopted the idea of the celebrated Nicholas Hartsoeker, a native of Gouda, who separated the eye-glass from the object-glass, placing the latter in a stand upon the roof of a house, and thus dispensed altogether with a tube. Huygens improved upon the plan. He erected his object-glass upon the top of a high mast, in a short tube moveable upon a ball and socket by means of a cord, and thus easily brought into a line with a small tube containing the eye-glass, which he held in his hand.

Such were the first efforts to counteract the intractability of the materials of the telescope. They reflect great credit on their inventors; but they were necessarily very imperfect. Not to speak of the difficulty of managing an apparatus so enormous and so unsteady, the best result was only a mitigation of the evil. Though the image thus obtained was free from any very sensible spherical aberration, yet it was impossible to apply to it eye-glasses of such high magnifying power as is necessary for minute astronomical observation. The imperfections of the image, though partially insensible with low-powered glasses, became more sensible as the power was increased; and, when glasses of great capacity were employed, the indistinctness became fatal to observation. We need hardly add, that this device affected only the spherical aberration, and left the still more serious defects arising from chromatic aberration entirely untouched.

We pass, therefore, to the second epoch in our history. The cause of the chromatic aberration was unknown till the time of Newton. That he should at once divine it, was a direct consequence of his immortal discovery of the composition of light. But even at the very moment when his acute mind suggested, in the combination of water with a

glass lens, a remedy for the spherical aberration, very analogous to that since adopted for the chromatic, he hastily concluded that it was impossible to overcome the latter. He, therefore, pronounced the refracting telescope incapable of perfection; and as the idea of reflecting astronomical telescopes had just been started by Gregory, he gave himself, with all his characteristic energy, to the work of their improvement. We shall so far depart, however, from the chronological order, as to continue the history of the refracting telescope to our own time, before we enter upon that of the reflector, to which class the telescopes of Lord Rosse belong. We shall thus be spared the necessity of a great deal of repetition.

When we said, at the commencement of this paper, that the materials at the disposal of our mechanists are very different from those which Nature employs in her own operations, we alluded to the natural construction of the eye by which both spherical and chromatic aberration are avoided. The provision for the correction of the latter is extremely simple and beautiful. The rays of light on their way to the retina, pass not through one single refracting medium, as in the telescopes hitherto described, but through several distinct media—the cornea, the aqueous humour, the crystalline lens, and the vitreous humour. Now, these media possess different, and, in some respects, opposite refracting powers for the different coloured rays. Their refractions, therefore, mutually counteract each other, and entirely destroy the chromatic aberration.\* This beautiful arrangement suggested the idea of forming a refracting lens, not as of old, of a single medium, but of two or more, the *dispersive powers*† of which (as in the human eye) might counteract each other. This ingenious

\* We should add, that, by the natural construction of the eye, the spherical aberration is similarly obviated.

† The dispersive power of any refracting medium, is its capacity of separating the different coloured rays of a beam of light, and throwing them into distinct foci.

That we may not interrupt the history, we shall throw one or two necessary explanations into a note. The glass used by Newton *dispersed* a ray falling upon it at an angle of  $30^\circ$ , in such a ratio, that the extreme *red* ray emerged at an angle of  $50^\circ 21\frac{1}{5}$ , while the extreme *violet* ray emerged at an angle of  $51^\circ 15\frac{3}{5}$ . Now taking 0.5 as the sine of  $30^\circ$  (the angle of incidence), the sine of the emergence of the *red* ray will be 0.77, and the sine of the emergence of the *violet* ray will be 0.78. This will give the dispersive power of the glass which Newton employed. The dispersive powers of crown glass and flint glass (which are used to correct each other in achromatic lenses), are related to each other (nearly) :: 0.05 : 0.033. The focal lengths of the glasses, thus combined into one lens, must be in the proportion of their dispersive powers.

thought was first reduced to practice, in 1733, by an English country gentleman, Mr. Hall. But his invention never obtained much publicity, and his fame is now merged in that of the celebrated John Dollond, who was the first to construct, in 1758, achromatic lenses, of a considerable size, and for sale. By combining flint glass and crown glass in certain proportions in his lenses, as the dispersive power of the former is about one-half greater than that of the latter, this ingenious artist was enabled to neutralize the chromatic aberration, and to cause the different coloured rays in each pencil to unite in the same focus after refraction. The achromatic lens thus formed, however, was not entirely successful. Though the spectra formed by the opposite dispersions of the coloured rays in a lens made of flint and crown glass are equal to each other, they are not precisely similar. That is, though the *whole* coloured spectrum in each case is equal, the *coloured spaces* occupied by the *different rays* are not equal, and do not precisely coincide; and the result is, that the image of a luminous object formed by such a lens, is found to be bordered on one side with a purple, and on the other with a violet fringe. This defect, however, has since been surmounted by Dr. Blair, who, by inclosing muriate of antimony between two convex lenses of crown glass, has produced a perfect compound lens, which refracts parallel rays to a single focus without a trace of this secondary colour created by the single combination of the glasses.

The difficulty of obtaining good glass, however, prevented the extensive adoption of these beautiful devices. The largest achromatic glasses in England at the beginning of this century hardly reached in aperture a diameter of six inches, and the enormously superior apertures attainable in the reflecting telescopes for a long time threw a damp on the attempts at competition. But at length, by one of those fortunate combinations of necessity and genius, to which science owes many of her brightest discoveries, a Swiss clock-case maker, named Guinand, discovered a process, by which this material, so precious for the arts, can be obtained of very considerable size. His invaluable secret was taken up by an eminent Bavarian artist, Joseph von Fraunhofer,\* who possessed more

\* For an interesting account of this very remarkable man, see the *Conversations-Lexicon*, vol. iv. p. 362 (German.) His monument in Munich bears the appropriate epitaph—"APPROXIMAVIT SIDERA."

means of carrying it into extensive application. He constructed two telescopes, the first of ten inches aperture, the second of twelve; the former of these is now in the Dorpat observatory, and to its extreme accuracy we owe Struve's invaluable observations on the multiple stars. The latter was purchased for the royal observatory at Munich, and, in the hands of Professor Lamont, has rendered signal service to the cause of astronomical science. The premature death of this ingenious optician was a serious interruption to the improvement of the achromatic telescope. But the processes employed by the Swiss artist were communicated also to M. Lerebours, a Parisian optician, who has constructed (with object-glasses manufactured by Guinand) telescopes of twelve inches aperture, and even thirteen-and-a-half. And it is stated by a distinguished writer in the *North British Review*, that M. Bontemps, of Paris, has acquired the art of making glasses of three feet diameter, and that Messrs. Chance and Co., of Birmingham, have taken out a patent for his process, and are prepared to construct achromatic lenses of these enormous dimensions. If this intelligence prove to be well-founded, we may look for the commencement of a new era in the science of the heavens.

Having anticipated so much, for the more convenient distribution of the subject, we come at length to the history of the Reflecting Telescope. The reader will remember, that as the chromatic aberration is entirely the effect of the *refraction* of light, the easiest and most compendious mode of getting rid of it altogether, would be to dispense with refraction, if possible, and adopt the principle of reflexion in its stead. This principle had been early applied to the microscope, by an Italian priest, Father Zucchi: but the idea of a reflecting telescope was first broached by James Gregory, in 1663. He failed, however, though he published a very satisfactory explanation of his plan, to carry out his views in practice; and before any telescope on his principle was constructed, Newton had, with his own hands, and on a different plan, executed, in 1666, a small reflector, an inch in aperture, and six in length, which showed the satellites of Jupiter, and the phases of Venus. This first essay was followed, in 1672, by the larger instrument, which is still preserved in the library of the Royal Society.

Although prior in execution, the Newtonian telescope is

posterior in invention to the Gregorian. The latter consists of a tube, open at the extremity nearest to the object, and containing at the other a concave metallic speculum, perforated at the centre.\* Directly in front of the aperture of this great speculum, and at a distance a little more than the sum of their focal lengths, is placed a second small mirror, also concave, which is moveable by a screw to a greater or lesser distance from the larger, or as to accommodate itself to the place of the image formed by the first reflexion (which varies with the distance of the object). The image formed in the great speculum is reflected a second time by the lesser one, and thrown to a point just in front of the aperture already described in the great speculum; through which it is viewed in an eye-piece of variable magnifying power, according to circumstances.

It is plain, that a telescope of this construction, though free, of course, from chromatic aberration, must always, when its specula are of a spherical form, be subject, at least, to the lesser evil of spherical aberration; and, indeed, in an aggravated form, as it arises both in the first reflexion in the great speculum, and in the second reflexion in the lesser one. The necessity of counteracting this double imperfection, suggested to a French artist, M. Cassegrain, the idea of the telescope, since called Cassegrainian. In this the great speculum is precisely like Gregory's; but the small one, instead of being concave, is convex. These opposite curvatures of the specula tend to correct the aberration; for in the one its direction is to the centre, while in the other it is from it: but, as they do not completely neutralize one another, even this construction is affected by spherical aberration, though in a less degree than the Gregorian.

The Newtonian telescope differs from both in several respects. In the first place, its great speculum is not perforated: instead of the small mirror being concave, as in the Gregorian, or convex, as in the Cassegrainian, it is a plane, of an oval form, and inclined at an angle of  $45^{\circ}$  to the axis of the tube. And thus it reflects the image formed in the great speculum, to the side of the telescope, whence it is viewed with an eye-glass. Newton's original design was, to substitute a glass prism for the

\* This speculum is commonly spherical. Were it not for the difficulty of working the surface to a true parabolic figure, the speculum of an astronomical reflector should always be parabolic. The small mirror should be elliptical.

second metallic mirror, in order to save the light which is lost by metallic reflexion. But it has been found so difficult to procure glass perfectly colourless and free from veins, that it is rarely adopted in practice.

This desire of avoiding the loss of light incurred by the second reflexion, suggested a further modification of the reflector, known as the Herschelian telescope, from its illustrious inventor, Sir John Herschel. Like that of the Newtonian telescope, its speculum is not perforated. The peculiarity of its construction is, that the small metal is entirely dispensed with, and the image formed in the large one is viewed directly (in what is called "the front view") by the observer, who sits at the mouth of the tube, and applies the eye-glass directly to the first image. In order that his head may not obstruct too many of the rays coming from the object, the speculum is slightly inclined to the axis of the tube; and thus the image is reflected not to the centre, as in the other constructions, but to the side at which the observer is situated. We need hardly add, that it is somewhat distorted in consequence.

So much of prefatory history and explanation will not, we trust, be deemed uninteresting or unnecessary. The reader is now, we should hope, in a condition to appreciate the success, which, denied to so many of the most gifted men of past generations, has been reserved to reward the genius, enterprise, and perseverance of an Irish nobleman of our own day.

It will be recollected, that in one particular, at least, the reflecting telescope possesses a decided advantage over the refractor—its freedom from all the embarrassing imperfections of the image caused by chromatic aberration. In order to understand the line of experiment adopted by Lord Rosse for the purpose of improving it, we must now consider a few of its countervailing disadvantages.

In the first place, until Lord Rosse commenced his experiments, it was considered practically impossible to work a true paraboloidal figure in metal specula, at least of any considerable dimensions. Artists, therefore, ordinarily were obliged to content themselves with giving their specula as accurate a spherical figure as possible. Now we need not remind the reader, that a spherical reflector must be affected by aberration as well as a spherical refractor. The cause is precisely the same in both:—the central parts, and those near the circumference, form their respec-



tive images at different distances from the face of the mirror, and thus produce indistinctness and confusion.

In the second place, the use of a metallic reflector is, as we have already seen, attended with a greater sacrifice of light than that of a glass refractor. Out of 100 rays received, about 93 are transmitted after refraction; while, according to Herschel, after two reflexions, little more than 45 are available. This is a subject, however, which has never been investigated with sufficient accuracy, and it is now generally believed, that with good speculum metal, carefully and truly polished, the loss of light is by no means so considerable.\*

Thirdly, it is a well-known fact, that, even with surfaces of the same dimensions and equal accuracy, the defining power of a reflector is far inferior;—the imperfections of an image obtained by reflexion, being five or six times as great as those of an image formed by refraction.†

Hence it follows, that any one proposing to effect a decided improvement in the reflecting telescope must, 1st, devise some means of counteracting the spherical aberration. 2ndly, he must either improve the reflecting substance, so as to diminish the loss of light; or he must construct specula capable of collecting so much light into the image, as to make this loss a matter of no consequence. 3rdly, he must improve the shape and accuracy of the reflecting surface, in order to avoid the fatal defects of image which attend every inaccuracy in reflexion, however slight it may be.

We pay attention to these principles, while we detail briefly the result of Lord Rosse's long and laborious investigations and experiments. They extend over a period of eighteen years, and have been attended with an expense which none but a princely fortune could have borne.

I. When, in 1826, he commenced his labours, he was well aware of the difficulties by which his path was beset. It was just the time when the hopes of the improvement of the achromatic telescope were at the highest. Discs of very fine glass and of extraordinary dimensions, manufactured by Guinand, of whom we have already spoken, had just been brought into these countries:—one of 12 inches aperture, and 20 feet focal length, by Sir James South;—

\* See Dr. Robinson's Address to the Royal Irish Academy "*Proceedings.*" No. 25. p. 7. Nov. 9. 1840.

† Brewster's *Optics*, p. 354.

another of  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter, and 25 feet focus, by Mr. Cooper of Marckrea, in the county of Sligo. These were promising and tempting beginnings in this department. On the other hand, it required no slight moral courage to undertake in the reflecting telescope, what, after a long life spent in its pursuit, such a mind as Herschel's had failed to accomplish. But little aid was to be looked for from those who had gone before him in this line. Short, the most successful speculum maker of his age, had carried his secret to the grave, and the results of Herschel's extraordinary experience, though almost prepared for publication before his death, have not even yet been given to the world. His greatest work, the four-feet speculum, had but a few years before, been taken down and replaced by one of 18 inches diameter; and the failure of its polish had begun to be regarded as an evidence that it was impossible to attain any considerable dimensions in speculum metal, without diminishing its brilliancy and durability in such a degree as to render the instrument comparatively valueless. These difficulties seem for a time to have had their influence on Lord Rosse. His first experiments were upon the construction of fluid lenses.\* They were (shall we not say happily?) unsuccessful. Had he succeeded, he might have remained all his life an ingenious trifler. As it was, he at once transferred his energies to the more difficult, and certainly far more honourable line, in which he has since attained to such distinguished eminence.

His first thought naturally was, how the spherical aberration was to be got over. We may so far anticipate as to say at once, that he eventually got rid of it, by abandoning the spherical form altogether. But his first attempt was so ingenious and interesting, that we cannot pass it by. The reader will remember that this aberration arises from the unequal focal length of the centre and of the circumference of a spherical speculum: that of the circumference and the adjacent parts being shorter than that of the centre. Lord Rosse endeavoured to make them coincide, as nearly as possible, by the following ingenious plan.† Instead of using one unbroken speculum, he divided it into two concentric parts, or rings, so calculated, that, presuming the original figure to be spherical, each would bear

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\* See Phil. Trans. 1840. p. 503.

† Ibid, p. 521-2; also *Edinburgh Journal of Science*, July, 1828.



about half the aberration of the entire surface. These he accurately combined and polished as a single surface. In the original figure, the focus of the centre would, of course, have been slightly *in advance* of that of the outer ring. But by a delicate screw-adjustment, the central part was drawn slightly *back*, and thus its focus was brought into coincidence with that of the outer part. The aberration was thus diminished by one-half; and the experiment (with a telescope of six inches aperture and two feet focus) succeeded so well, that he contemplated a further trial in the dimensions of eighteen inches aperture, and had already completed the castings for the purpose, which were in three concentric portions similarly adjustable. Meanwhile, however, other lights came upon him, which fortunately induced him to abandon this ingenious, but hardly practicable course.

The lights to which we allude were such as to satisfy him, that the prevailing belief, as to the spherical figure's being the only one securely attainable in polishing a speculum, was entirely unfounded. A perfectly parabolic speculum would be entirely free from aberration, for it would reflect all rays, parallel to its axis, into a single focus; but this figure it is impossible to attain with complete mathematical precision. It might be possible, however, Lord Rosse conceived, to approximate to it; and this approximation became the subject of a long train of most careful experiment. The extreme delicacy required in this investigation may be gathered from a fact stated by Dr. Robinson, at the meeting of the British Association in Cork, that so slight is the difference between the two figures (the faulty spherical figure and the perfect parabolic one), that, if two specula of six feet diameter, the one spherical, the other parabolic, were in contact at their vertex, the edges would not diverge from each other more than  $\frac{1}{1000}$  of an inch! Without puzzling our readers or ourselves with any examination of the mathematical properties of the paraboloid, we think we shall be able to give a tolerably clear notion of the principle according to which the approximation to the parabolical figure, which is obtained by Lord Rosse's process, has the effect of correcting the aberration.

We have repeated more than once, that this defect is occasioned in all spherical specula, solely because the image formed by the central rays is reflected to a greater distance from the face of the speculum than that formed by the rays

reflected from the parts near the circumference. Hence, as the reader will recollect, Lord Rosse's first effort to correct it was, by *drawing back the central part* so as to make the foci of the centre and circumference coincide. Now, the same result would be obtained, were it possible to make the *parts towards the circumference throw their image a little further in advance*, the focus of the centre remaining the same. In the course of his trials with Edwards's polishing-machine, his Lordship found, that when the stroke of the guide of the polisher gives a lateral motion in certain proportions with the diameter of the speculum, the focal length gradually and regularly increases. Hence, remembering that each concentric ring of the entire surface has a separate focal length, it will clearly be possible, provided that of the centre remains the same, and those of the successive rings be gradually increased in the due proportion, to procure an exact coincidence of them all; in the same way in which guns of unequal carrying power may be made to throw their shot to the same point, by regulating the distances from it at which they are severally discharged. Let there be any surface, therefore, originally spherical. A polishing-tool, if it revolve with a radius of uniform length, will clearly have the effect of preserving this original spherical figure. But, if the length of the radius be gradually increased, the abrasion of the metal will become insensibly greater as the tool recedes from the centre; the focal lengths will be gradually increased; and thus the foci of the successive rings of the surface will be brought into coincidence with the central focus of the figure. "According as the focal length increases more or less rapidly, the nature of the curve will vary; and we might conceive it possible, having it in our power completely to control the rate at which the focal length increases, so to proportion the rate of that increase, as to produce a surface approximating to the paraboloid." The most accurate determination of the necessary proportions at which Lord Rosse has yet been able to arrive is, "that, when the stroke of the second eccentric is .27 of the diameter of the speculum, the curve will be nearly parabolic."

It is hardly necessary to say, that the form thus communicated to the speculum practically obviates the first of the three great difficulties against the use of reflectors to which we have alluded. The axis of the paraboloidal figure thus generated, is the axis of the tube. Now, any ray of light

impinging on the interior of a paraboloid in a direction parallel to its axis, is reflected accurately to the focus. And so near, in point of fact, has this approximation been brought to the mathematically true figure, "that the three-foot metal at present in the telescope, with its whole aperture, is thrown perceptibly out of focus by a motion of the eye-piece amounting to less than the thirtieth of an inch; and even with a single lens of one-eighth of an inch focus, giving a power of 2592, the dots on a watch dial are still in some degree defined."\*

In this success, however, Lord Rosse cannot strictly be said to stand alone. Others, before his time, had succeeded in obtaining a very good parabolic figure, within small dimensions, and in hand-wrought specula. His triumph consists in the invention of a means, by which, with perfect ease and security, the figure can be imparted to specula of *all* dimensions, from one inch to six feet in aperture; and by which what before was always precarious, and at best a labour of days, and even of weeks, may now be accomplished with infallible accuracy, and under the superintendence of a common workman, in a few hours.

II. The polishing and grinding machine, however, would be of limited use in constructing effective reflectors, unless we were able to overcome the second difficulty, which has been explained as inseparable from their use; viz. the enormous sacrifice of light with which it is attended. It is plain, that the quantity of light directly derivable in a telescope from any luminous body, must depend on the aperture. As, therefore, the loss of light in a reflector is far greater than that incurred in a refractor, it would be necessary to obtain with the latter much greater aperture than with the former, in order that their illuminating power should be the same. Unfortunately, the diameter attainable in glass has hitherto been very limited. Dr. Robinson stated at the meeting of the British Association, in 1843, that there is not at present a single object-glass in the world of 16 inches diameter, and not four of 12. And, even with these low dimensions, the cost is enormous. The king of Bavaria's telescope (12 inches aperture) cost £2720. Fraunhofer estimated the expense of one with an aperture of 18 inches, at £9200. For an un-

\* *Phil. Trans.* p. 523.

wrought disc of flint glass, 8 inches diameter, and 1 in thickness, about eighty guineas are required; and to this price, we need not say, a very large addition will be made, before an achromatic lens of that diameter can be produced. Hence, it has always been an object of interest with astronomers, to exceed in metal the diameter which Nature seemed to have fixed as the limit attainable in glass. The ordinary speculum metal, however (a composition of copper and tin, and sometimes arsenic or silver, or both together) has been found almost equally intractable. Brittle to a degree perfectly inconceivable to those who have not seen it wrought—liable to all the chances of unequal expansion and contraction, and sensible to an excessive degree of every slight variation of temperature, even those inseparable from the very friction by which it is wrought—it presents almost insuperable difficulties to the artist. A single drop of condensed steam, falling upon a plate of speculum metal, would surely break it; the very pressure of its own weight, in the act of being turned, will destroy its figure; and the application of the polisher, after having been merely washed in hot water, had the effect (though its temperature was hardly altered at all) of cracking plates of considerable thickness and solidity. This excessive brittleness may be, in some degree, overcome by the addition of an extra proportion of copper; but, on the other hand, this expedient dims the brilliancy of the metal, increases its porosity, and materially augments its liability to tarnish.

Under the pressure of all these difficulties, the metal speculum was long kept within dimensions little exceeding those of the achromatic object-glass. The only prominent exception was Herschel, who attained the extraordinary diameter of 48 inches in the celebrated speculum, to which we owe the discovery of the Georgian. But, having had recourse to the plan just alluded to, of increasing the proportion of copper, this speculum was far from realizing the expectations its dimensions would suggest. Its colour was low, and it resisted the effects of tarnish so ill, that, in 1822, it was replaced by a smaller speculum of 18 inches. And thus, since his time, the dimensions of the speculum fell back to the old limit, and even below it: the London opticians do not like to undertake a speculum even of nine inches; and Mr. Grubb, a Dublin artist, stood altogether

alone in the courage to attempt a diameter of fifteen.\* The train of experiment, therefore, by which Lord Rosse overcame the difficulties which surrounded this portion of his task, is among the most interesting in the whole history of the chemistry of fusion. They are detailed at great length by himself, in a paper in the *Philosophical Transactions*, 1840, and an interesting account will be found in the very excellent pamphlet (No. I.), published at Parsons-town, upon the subject. We can only afford a brief analysis.

The composition of the speculum metal was his first study. This had already been the subject of numerous experiments. Newton began with copper and tin in certain proportions. Edwards tried no less than seventy different combinations, and in the end preferred the following:—copper, 32 parts, tin 15, brass 1, silver 1, arsenious acid, or white oxide, 1. Little discarded silver, as making the compound too soft: he employed copper 32, tin 16½, brass pin-wire 4, arsenic ½. Mudge used 32 copper, and 14½ grain tin: Herschel, 32 copper, 10.7 tin. After a variety of trials, Lord Rosse found it best to confine himself to the materials used by Newton—"the best proportions being 4 atoms of copper to 1 of tin, or 126.4 parts of copper to 58.9 of tin."

From the extreme difficulty of managing so brittle a material, he at first regarded it as impracticable to grind and polish a *solid* speculum of large dimensions, even though he could succeed in casting it, which appeared very problematical: his first thought, therefore, was to cast a number of small pieces, and to unite them into one surface, artificially strengthened, which might then be turned and polished to the required form. There was, however, a difficulty in the way. To make the speculum sufficiently strong to bear the operation of polishing, it would be necessary to unite the plates upon one metallic frame of sufficient firmness. Now metals, as the reader is well aware, differ in their conducting power, and are not equally expanded and contracted by the variations of temperature. If, therefore, the pieces of speculum metal were united upon a bed of different expansive power from themselves, the unequal expansion and contraction would inevitably crack the speculum metal. It became necessary,

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\* Dr. Robinson's Address to the Royal Irish Academy. Nov. 9, 1840. p. 3.

therefore, to prepare a metallic bed which would expand and contract in the same proportion as the speculum metal. With this view Lord Rosse selected an alloy of copper and zinc, a species of brass; and the process by which he determined the proportions of the alloy is so curious, that we shall give it in his own words:

"A bar was cast of speculum metal, fifteen inches long and one inch-and-a-quarter square; smaller bars, but only one-fourth of an inch thick, were cast of the alloys to be tried, containing a little more or less than the proportions given, (2.75 of copper to 1 of zinc.) The two bars were made to fit neatly, so that when brought together, a very fine line could be drawn across them with hardly any troublesome parallax at the joint: the whole was then immersed almost to the top, in a tin vessel of water of the temperature of the atmosphere, and that vessel placed in another much larger also containing water. Pieces of ice were then dropped into the outer vessel, so that the temperature of the whole was easily and gradually brought down to nearly  $32^{\circ}$ : and a straight line, as fine as possible, was then drawn across both bars, and examined with a microscope, to see that it was perfect. The temperature was then gradually raised, by pouring hot water into the outer vessel, until nearly  $212^{\circ}$  had been attained, and the line was again examined with a microscope; and where the alloy had been made by mixing 2.74 of copper with 1 of zinc, and the loss in melting amounted to  $\frac{1}{180}$  of the whole, the continuity of the line was not broken in that range of temperature; according, however, as the proportion of the zinc was more or less, the expansion of the brass bar was greater or less than that of the speculum metal."\*

The difficulty, however, did not cease here. As zinc is more easily volatilized than copper in the process of fusion, it was found that in a melting, in which the proper proportions of cold metal had been used, the proportion of zinc which remained after fusion was very much diminished; and, what was still more embarrassing, the amount of zinc lost was not the same every time, but varied very considerably in different meltings. Although we mention this as a sample of the endless difficulties of his task, we cannot enter into the device by which Lord Rosse overcame it, nor the still more troublesome process by which the pieces of this metallic bed (eight in number) were attached to each other. The ordinary process of soldering was found quite insufficient. Bolts of the same metal as the alloy would not be sufficiently strong; while bolts of iron would

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\* *Phil. Trans.* 1840. p. 506-7.



not contract and expand in the requisite proportions. He was obliged, therefore, to have recourse to the process known among practical men by the name of "burning," in which a stream of molten metal is poured upon the surfaces which it is intended to unite, until they are themselves reduced to a state of fusion at the point where the union is required. This process (which somewhat resembles the re-sealing of a letter which has had the seal broken) was repeated at thirty-two different points, and proved perfectly successful.

Upon this piecemeal plan he constructed three specula; the first 15 inches in aperture, the second 24, and the third 36. The last was in sixteen different plates. The difficulty of casting perfect pieces, even of these small dimensions, led to a great variety of experiments, which we cannot detail, but which resulted most happily in the discovery of a sure mode of casting discs of this material, brittle and intractable as it was believed, of almost any dimensions which may be desired.

He soon discovered that the flaws discernible in the castings, and the excessive brittleness of the whole mass, arose from the metal's contracting unequally at different points before it grew solid after fusion. As the heat is most rapidly conducted away from the edges, these naturally become solid, while the central parts were still fluid. The central mass was thus, as it were, held in a stiff frame during the process of cooling; and, if the surface did not give way in cracks, the parts at least were kept in the most extreme tension, ready to be separated by the slightest violence or the most delicate change of temperature. It occurred to Lord Rosse, therefore, to devise some means of conducting the heat away, gradually and regularly, from the lower surface, so that the upper one might retain it in a greater proportion. The result would evidently be, that the metal would become solid first in its lowest stratum, from which the solidification would proceed regularly upwards through the successive strata, so as to prevent both the strains and flaws which were unavoidable in the old process. He tried two different modes of effecting this.

First, he made a mould of cast-iron, and cooled the lower surface by a constant jet of cold water. This proved the correctness of the principle; but the mould uniformly cracked during the process. He next tried a mould partly

made in the usual way, the sides being of packed sand ; but, for the bottom of the mould, he used instead of sand a plate of iron : the result was, a casting without cracks, but having its surface full of flaws and air-bubbles. The reason of this defect evidently was, that the superior conducting power of the iron bottom drew off the heat so rapidly from the lower surface, that the disengaged air could not make its way through the solid bottom of the mould ; and this failure suggested the crowning idea of the whole process, which was to form the bottom of the mould of iron hoop-plates placed vertically against each other, so close as to retain the fluid metal, but yet sufficiently free to allow the air to escape without impediment. This very simple, but ingenious plan, has proved thoroughly successful. Of sixteen plates cast for the three-foot speculum, not a single one failed, and on every after occasion, though he enlarged the diameter to 20 inches, and even 6 feet, the castings were always perfect at the very first trial.

Of the process of annealing we need hardly speak. It resembles very much that pursued in glass manufactories, allowing for the difference of material. The time of cooling, of course, varies with the size of the mass. For a nine-inch plate it is three or four days ; the great six-foot speculum was allowed to remain in the annealing oven sixteen weeks ; but a second speculum of the same dimensions, was perfectly annealed in three weeks.

Here, then, is another advance in the construction of reflecting telescopes, the importance of which it is almost impossible as yet to estimate. A speculum with such enormous aperture is so immeasurably beyond the dimensions attainable in glass, that henceforward the greater loss of light, consequent on the use of reflectors, need hardly be taken into the calculation of their respective perfectibility.\*

III. Still, however, there remained a third difficulty to which Lord Rosse was now obliged to address himself. It was not enough to obtain great illuminating power, and entirely free from spherical aberration. It still remained to remove, or at least abate, another defect, which seemed inseparable from the use of metallic reflectors—want of defining power. It is ascertained by careful experiment,

\* The light received is as the square of the diameter of the aperture. Hence, Lord Rosse's six-foot speculum will receive *thirty-six* times as much light as a *twelve-inch* achromatic.



that the imperfections of an image formed by a reflector are five or six times greater than those of a refractor, of the same dimensions and the same degree of accuracy. The next step, therefore, was to procure a means of communicating a perfectly true figure and fine polish.

This result is obtained with unerring accuracy, by a modification in the use of the machinery already referred to in describing the mode of obtaining a parabolic figure. Some notion may be formed of the extreme accuracy required, from a statement of Lord Rosse, that an error of a small fraction of a hair's-breadth would destroy all hope of correct action; and Dr. Robinson states, that the smallest inequality of local pressure during the polishing process would "change a well-defined star into a blot or a comet." The old process of polishing (which up to a diameter of nine inches was performed with the hand, and, beyond that dimension, required that at least the cross-stroke should be given with a lever moved by the hand) was liable to three capital difficulties: 1st. variations of the extent and velocity of the motions requisite in the operation; 2nd. variations of the temperature of the speculum and of the tool; 3rd. variations of pressure both at different times and at different points of the surface. The surest, and indeed the only sure way, to obviate these, was by the use of machinery, which should do its work with certainty and regularity, and have a tendency to correct its own defects. Accordingly, Lord Rosse's machinery (which we had the good fortune to see while in operation upon the six-foot speculum) produces the necessary shape and polish with the most unerring accuracy. The speculum, with its face upwards, is made to revolve slowly, immersed to within an inch of its surface in a cistern of water, regulated to a temperature of 55° Fahrenheit. The polishing-tool is drawn longitudinally along its surface by the stroke of an eccentric, which is adjustable to any stroke, from 0 to 18 inches; and it receives at the same time a transverse motion from another eccentric similarly adjustable. During a single revolution of the speculum, the polisher makes longitudinally thirty-seven strokes (each one-third of the diameter of the speculum), and transversely 1.76 (each about .27 of the same diameter). Though it has no direct rotatory motion, yet it is carried round by the revolution of the speculum, once for every fifteen or twenty revolutions of the latter, and its pressure is regulated by a

counterpoise, so as to be uniformly about 1lb for every superficial circular foot of the speculum. We need hardly say, that this arrangement obviates all the irregularities detailed above. It secures perfect regularity of action, places the temperature completely under control, and regulates the pressure with unerring uniformity. The material used in *grinding* the speculum is emery and water, and the tool is intersected by longitudinal, transverse, and circular grooves. For *polishing* the movements are the same; but, as the material employed is different, and as the little minutiae of the process are a good example of the extreme patience and ingenuity of the noble inventor, we shall give the description in the words of his address to the British Association:

“The process of polishing differs very essentially from that of grinding: in the latter, the powder employed runs loose between two hard surfaces, and may produce scratches possibly equal in depth to the size of the particles: in the polishing process the case is very different; there the particles of the powder lodge in the comparatively soft material of which the surface of the polishing-tool is formed, and as the portions projecting may bear a very small proportion to the size of the particles themselves, the scratches necessarily will be diminished in the same proportion. The particles are forced thus to imbed themselves, in consequence of the extreme accuracy of contact between the surface of the polisher and the speculum. But as soon as this accurate contact ceases, the polishing process becomes but fine grinding. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to secure this accuracy of contact during the whole process. If the surface of a polisher, of considerable dimensions, is covered with a thin coat of pitch, of sufficient hardness to polish a true surface, however accurately it may fit the speculum, it will very soon cease to do so, and the operation will fail. The reason is this, that particles of the polishing-powder and abraded matter will collect in one place more than another, and as the pitch is not elastic, close contact throughout the surfaces will cease. By employing a coat of pitch, thicker in proportion as the diameter of the speculum is greater, there will be room for lateral expansion, and the prominence can, therefore, subside, and accurate contact still continue; however, accuracy of figure is thus, to a considerable extent, sacrificed. By thoroughly grooving a surface of pitch, provision may be made for lateral expansion contiguous to the spot where the undue collection of polishing-powder may have taken place. But, in practice, such grooves are inconvenient, being constantly liable to fill up: this evil is entirely obviated by grooving the polisher itself, and the smaller the portions of continuous surface, the thinner may be the stratum of pitch.

"There is another condition, which is also important, that the pitchy surface should be so hard as not to yield and abrade the softer portions of the metal faster than the harder. When the pitchy surface is unduly soft, this defect is carried so far, that even the structure of the metal is made apparent. While, therefore, it is essential that the surface in contact with the speculum should be as hard as possible, consistent with its retaining the polishing-powder, it is proper that there should be a yielding where necessary, or contact would not be preserved. Both conditions can be satisfied by forming the surface of two layers of resinous matter of different degrees of hardness; the first may be of common pitch, adjusted to the proper consistence by the addition of spirits of turpentine, or rosin; and the other I prefer making of rosin, spirits of turpentine, and wheat flour, as hard as possible, consistent with its holding the polishing-powder. The thickness of each layer need not be more than one-fortieth of an inch, provided no portion of continuous surface exceeds half an inch in diameter: the hard resinous compound, after it has been thoroughly fused, can be reduced to powder, and thus easily applied to the polisher, and incorporated with the subjacent layer by instantaneous exposure to flame. A speculum of three-feet diameter thus polished, has resolved several of the nebulae, and in a considerable proportion of the others has shown new stars, or some other new feature."

The device by which he contrived, at any point of the process, to ascertain the progress of the polishing, is extremely simple. The polishing-machine is situated on the ground floor of a high tower, on the top of which is erected a mast of such height, that its summit is ninety feet from the speculum which is being polished. To this the dial-plate of a watch is attached. A small plane metal is so arranged, that, along with the great speculum in the machine, it forms, for the time being, a Newtonian telescope, furnished with the regular eye-pieces. The dial-plate is the object of this *provisional* telescope; and, at any moment of the process, there needs but to draw the tool aside, and open a series of trap-doors in the tower, in order to have a trial of the condition of the speculum, if not final, at least abundantly sufficient for every practical purpose.\*

The success of this new process in increasing the defining power of the reflector can hardly be conceived. For those who have had no experience in the use of the astronomical telescope, it may be well to observe, that a certain propor-

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\* This is only one of the advantages of polishing with the face of the speculum upwards. It obviates all danger of accidental injury to the speculum.

tion\* must always be observed between the magnifying power of the eye-glass and the greater or less perfection—technically called “sharpness of definition”—of the image. If the image be ill-defined, from whatever source, whether from the real imperfection of the object-glass or the speculum, or from the state of the atmosphere and want of light at the time, it is impossible to use an eye-glass of high magnifying power; for this would destroy the apparent distinctness, which, when seen with low power, it is thought to possess. The reason, of course, is, that, by enlarging the image, the greater magnifying power diminishes its brilliancy and detects and displays its imperfections more than the lesser; and as the result of these, whatever may be their cause, is indistinctness, the use of powerful glasses will frequently change a tolerably well-defined image into a shapeless blot. Hence, the best test of a true surface, *cæteris paribus*, is the capacity of, as it is called, “bearing a high magnifying power.” As an evidence of the superiority of Lord Rosse’s polishing-tool, in every little detail, over that ordinarily adopted, it will be sufficient to mention, that in the polishing of the three-feet speculum, the mere substitution of grooves in the surface of the tool, for the old plan of grooving the surface of the pitch, had such an effect, that it defined better with a magnifying power of 1200, than it had done, when polished in the old way, under a power of only 200.

Having thus detailed the several processes by which the specula are cast to any required size, ground to a parabolic figure, and polished to the exquisite degree of accuracy—technically called a “black polish”—it remains to explain the construction of the telescopes in which the three-feet speculum, and the still more enormous one of six feet, have been mounted.

It will be remembered, that at the time when the new light broke upon Lord Rosse, with reference to the process of casting speculum metal, he was engaged in preparing the compound or plated speculum three feet in diameter, which has been already described. The reflecting surface thus obtained was the largest ever mounted on any telescope, except the great four-feet speculum of Sir William Herschel. The performance of this interesting instrument

\* This proportion will be found explained very satisfactorily in the *Encycl. Britannica*, (7th Ed.) Art. *Telescope*.

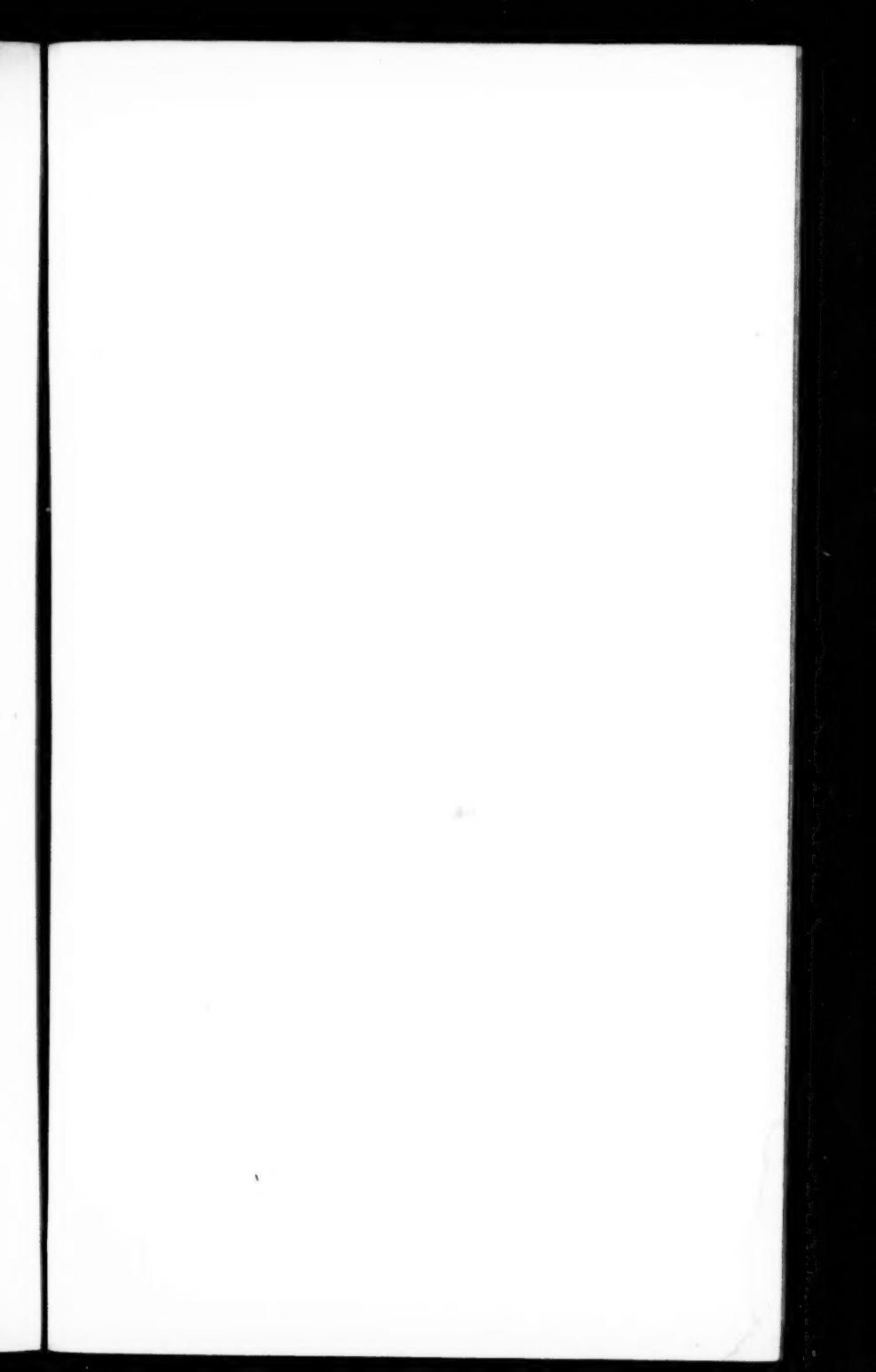
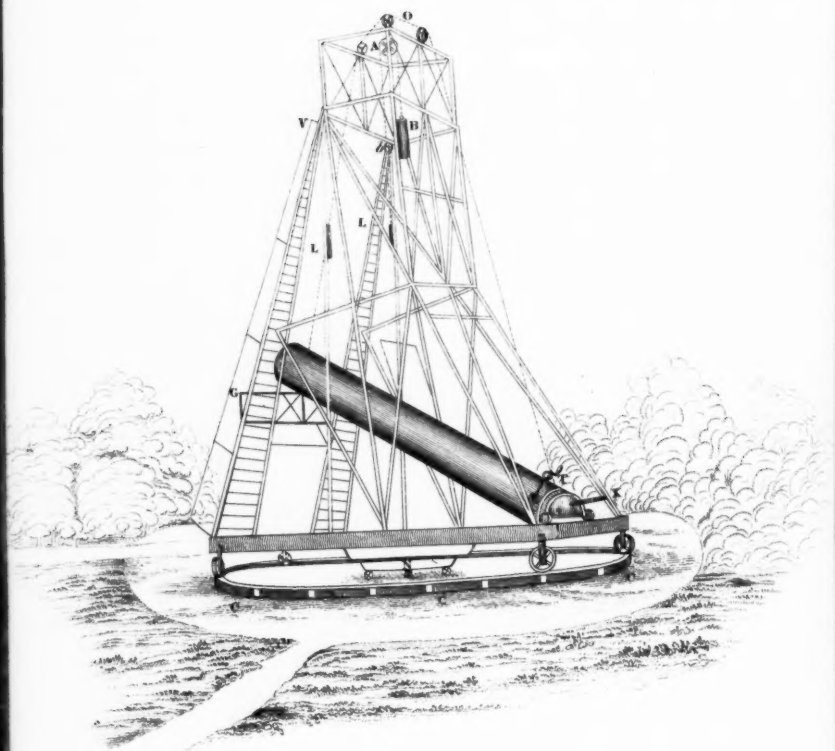


PLATE I.



*Machinery of the 5 feet Reflector.*

has, in some respects, been very satisfactory. For stars below the fifth magnitude it is not at all inferior to the solid three-feet speculum; but Dr. Robinson states, that in all stars "above that magnitude, it exhibits a cross formed by the diffraction at the joints; and, in unsteady states of the air, it exhibits the sixteen divisions of the great mirror on the star's disc."

The great objects of interest, therefore, are the solid specula, the first of three, the second of six feet aperture. We shall take them in order.

The polishing of the three-feet speculum, at which several eminent scientific men, among others Dr. Robinson, assisted, was perfected in the short space of six hours. Its mounting has but little of peculiarity. It is fixed in a box, in which, to obviate the possibility of strain or displacement from any flexure of the wood, it is supported on nine plates of iron, each a sector of a circle of the same dimensions with the speculum itself. The plates "rest, at their respective centres of gravity, on points supported by levers, which rest on three original points,"\* the lever apparatus being "exceedingly, and indeed disproportionately, substantial; otherwise tremors would be introduced by it, attended with the worst consequences."

In all other details the mounting is very similar to that of Herschel's telescope, except that the tube and gallery are both counterpoised, in consequence of their very great weight. The tube is twenty-six feet long, but the machinery by which its movements are directed is so admirably contrived, that it is managed with the utmost facility. The accompanying plate† (No. I.) will enable the reader to understand its construction. A graduated iron circle, thirty feet in diameter, is fixed in the ground, and serves as a rail, on which four grooved wheels revolve freely, supporting the entire structure, and enabling the telescope to be directed to any quarter of the heavens. The centre upon which the whole frame moves is a pivot, passing through the beam marked N, which is firmly bolted to the great cross-beam immediately above it in the engraving. By means of a lever, on the long arm of which a weight is made to act with any required amount

\* It is stated differently in "The Monster Telescopes," but we, of course, follow Lord Rosse's own account in the *Phil. Trans.* 524.

† Copied, as are the two following, from the very excellent illustrations of "*The Monster Telescopes.*"



of pressure, while its shorter arm presses against the end of the beam N, the entire structure may be counterpoised at pleasure. The lower end of the tube is free; and, when the other extremity is raised or depressed, the axle (T) runs easily on wheels (seen in the engraving) which slide with the utmost facility upon a railway traversing the great main-beam. The counterpoise of the tube is seen at B upon the figure. The gallery on which the observer stands, is counterpoised by the weight L, and rises and falls with the tube. When it is necessary to raise or lower the latter, it is done with the utmost facility by the small wheel and axle T, from which a rope may be seen to run across the top pulley O, whence it descends to the mouth of the tube; and by a very simple arrangement the observer is enabled, without leaving the box, to raise or depress it for short distances. The speculum-case can be opened at pleasure, and a box filled with quick-lime is kept constantly within it, for the purpose of absorbing the moisture and acid vapours from which the speculum would otherwise suffer.

The telescope is of the Newtonian construction. It is furnished with a variety of eye-pieces, of different powers, from 180 upwards. The power to be employed depends mainly on the state of the atmosphere, and this varies very much in our climate. The three-feet speculum will bear a power of 2,000 on some nights, better than one of 100 on the night preceding. The powers employed with it, therefore, vary from 180 to 2,000, and sometimes, but very rarely, go higher. From some observations in the paper so often cited from the Philosophical Transactions, it would appear that Lord Rosse has tried it as a Herschelian (dispensing with the second metal); but, although the distortion of the image was not so great as he expected, yet the saving of light by no means compensated, in a telescope of such enormous aperture, for the sacrifice of distinctness (occasioned by the oblique reflexion) at which it was purchased.

Instead, however, of speculating upon the probable capacity of the instrument, it will be more interesting to give a short report of its actual performance, as described in the Royal Irish Academy by Dr. Robinson, who, from the beginning, had watched the progress of the experiments with the utmost anxiety. The trial which formed the subject of this Report, was made more for the purpose of ascertaining the *defining* power of the telescope, than of



eliciting any new astronomical fact: and it will be well to bear this in mind, in order to understand the tenor and tendency of some of Dr. Robinson's observations.

"In trying the performance of the telescope, Dr. R. had the advantage of the assistance of one of the most celebrated of British astronomers, Sir James South; but they were unfortunate in respect to weather, as the air was unsteady in almost every instance; the moonlight was also powerful on most of the nights when they were using it. After midnight, too (when large reflectors act best), the sky, in general, became overcast. The time was from October 29th to November 8th.

"Both specula, the divided and the solid, seem exactly parabolic, there being no sensible difference in the focal adjustment of the eye-piece with the whole aperture of thirty-six inches, or one of twelve; in the former case there is more flutter, but apparently no difference in definition, and the eye-piece comes to its place of adjustment very sharply.

"The solid speculum showed a Lyræ round and well defined, with powers up to 1600 inclusive, and at moments even with 1600; but the air was not fit for so high a power on any telescope. Rigel, two hours from the meridian, with 600, was round, the field quite dark, the companion separated by more than a diameter of the star from its light, and so brilliant that it would certainly be visible long before sunset.

"ζ Orionis, well defined, with all the powers from 200 to 1000, with the latter a wide black separation between the stars; 32 Orionis and 31 Canis minoris were also well separated.

"It is scarcely possible to preserve the necessary sobriety of language, in speaking of the moon's appearance with this instrument, which discovers a multitude of new objects at every point of its surface. Among these may be named a mountainous tract near Ptolemy, every ridge of which is dotted with extremely minute craters, and two black parallel stripes in the bottom of Aristarchus.

"The Georgian was the only planet visible; its disc did not show any trace of a ring. As to its satellites, it is difficult to pronounce whether the luminous points seen near it are satellites or stars, without micrometer measures. On October 29, three such points were seen within a few seconds of the planet, which were not visible on November 5; but then two others were to be traced, one of which could not have been overlooked in the first instance, had it been in the same position. If these were satellites, as is not improbable, there would be no great difficulty in taking good measurement both of their distance and position.

"There could be little doubt of the high illuminating power of such a telescope, yet an example or two may be desirable. Between  $\epsilon^1$  and  $\epsilon^2$  Lyræ, there are two faint stars, which Sir J. Herschel (Phil. Trans. 1824) calls 'debilissima,' and which seem to have

been, at that time, the only set visible in the twenty-foot reflector. These, at the altitude of  $18^{\circ}$ , were visible without an eye-glass, and also when the aperture was contracted to twelve inches. With an aperture of eighteen inches, power 600, they and two other stars (seen in Mr. Cooper's achromatic of 13.2 aperture, and the Armagh reflector of 15) are easily seen. With the whole aperture, a fifth is visible, which Dr. R. had not before noticed. Nov. 5th, strong moonlight.

"In the nebula of Orion, the fifth star of the trapezium is easily seen with either speculum, even when the aperture is contracted to eighteen inches. The divided speculum will not show the sixth with the whole aperture, on account of that sort of disintegration of large stars already noticed, but does, in favourable moments, when contracted to eighteen inches. With the solid mirror and whole aperture, it stands out conspicuously under all the powers up to 1000, and even with eighteen inches is not likely to be overlooked.

"Comparatively little attention was paid to nebulae and clusters, from the moonlight, and the superior importance of ascertaining the telescope's defining power. Of the few examined were 13 Messier, in which the central mass of stars was more distinctly separated, and the stars themselves larger than had been anticipated; the great nebula of Orion and that of Andromeda showed no appearance of resolution, but the small nebula near the latter is clearly resolvable. This is also the case with the ring nebula of Lyra; indeed, Dr. R. thought it was resolved at its minor axis; the fainter nebulous matter which fills it is irregularly distributed, having several stripes or wisps in it, and there are four stars near it, besides the one figured by Sir John Herschel in his catalogue of nebulae. It is also worthy of notice, that this nebula, instead of that regular outline which he has there given it, is fringed with appendages, branching out into the surrounding space, like those of 13 Messier, and in particular, having prolongations brighter than the others in the direction of the major axis, longer than the ring's breadth. A still greater difference is found in 1 Messier, described by Sir John Herschel, as 'a barely resolvable cluster,' and drawn, fig. 81, with a fair elliptic boundary. This telescope, however, shows the stars, as in his figure 89, and some more plainly, while the general outline, besides being irregular and fringed with appendages, has a deep bifurcation to the south."

Such were the results of the first trial of the three-foot reflector. Being intended, as we have already observed, chiefly to test the defining power of the instrument, it falls far short in interest of the subsequent trials made on every occasion which offered by Lord Rosse himself. We shall return to these before the close: we must first say a word upon the six-foot reflector.

Even before Lord Rosse had completed the instrument

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*Section of the Machinery of the 6 feet Reflector.*

just described, he had projected another, of the still more extraordinary dimensions of six feet. The project has since been carried into execution, at an expenditure, it is said, of £12000. The arrangements for the construction of the smaller speculum, required only to have their scale enlarged in order to be perfectly applicable to the greater. In consequence of the greater mass of metal (above three tons) it was found necessary to construct a foundry for the special purpose of casting it, and by using three furnaces, from which the crucibles were conveyed simultaneously by machinery, and poured at the same moment into the mould, the casting was made perfectly uniform and regular.\* At the first appearance of incipient solidification, it was carried upon a railway to the annealing oven, where it was left for sixteen weeks. It is supported in the speculum-box on a plan similar to that already described as used for the three-foot speculum, but more complicated; the bed consisting of twenty-seven, instead of nine 'plates.† In principle, however, the support is precisely the same, and is admirably contrived to obviate the possibility of flexure in any direction; whether lateral, horizontal, or oblique. The polishing of the speculum was completed in six hours so successfully, that, although it was not intended to be final, yet the performance of the instrument, when tried, gave such satisfaction, as to induce Lord Rosse to leave it in its present condition.

The tube, with the speculum-box, is fifty-six feet in length, and seven feet in diameter. The box is so capacious as freely to admit two men, for the purpose of removing or replacing the cover; it is connected with the tube, however, in such a way as not to exert the slightest pressure upon it. As its movements, in consequence of its immensely greater weight and size, are much more limited than those of the former instrument, it may be as well to say a word in explanation of its machinery. The tube is fixed by an enormous universal joint (marked B, Plate II.), like that of a pair of compasses moving round a pin; so as to have not only a vertical, but also a transverse motion, for the purpose of following the object in

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\* To secure uniformity, the metal was first melted in three crucibles, and each of these meltings being broken into pieces, the pieces of each melting were put successively into the crucibles for the final casting.

† These plates are lined with pitch and felt, to guard (by their non-conducting power) against variation of temperature.

right ascension. It stands in the centre, between two castellated walls, parallel to the meridian, 72 feet long, 56 high, and 24 feet asunder. The tube, therefore, ranges north and south: in the latter direction it may be lowered to the horizon; in the former it is, of course, sufficient to bring it to the pole. The lateral movement is necessarily limited by the twenty-four-feet distance between the walls; but this gives half-an-hour on each side of the meridian, which is fully sufficient for all the purposes to which such a telescope is likely to be applied. The observer's gallery is detached from the tube, to avoid tremors; and it is, of course, needless to say that both are counterpoised. The first\* plan of the counterpoise was a chain passing from the end of the tube over a pulley, and carrying the counterpoise, which was to run on a curved railway, so formed that the telescope should be in equilibrium through its entire range. But, though the preparations for this plan were all made, it has been effected in a much more simple manner; which is remarkably well described in the account of the telescopes to which we have so often referred. We regret that we must be content with briefly stating the principle. The counterpoising weight, instead of rolling upon the curved railway, as originally intended, is attached by a guy to a fixed point, by which it is made to describe a curve in its ascent and descent, so that when the tube is low (and, therefore, acts with greater pressure), the counterpoise acts at a proportionally greater mechanical advantage; and when the tube is high, its advantage proportionably diminishes.

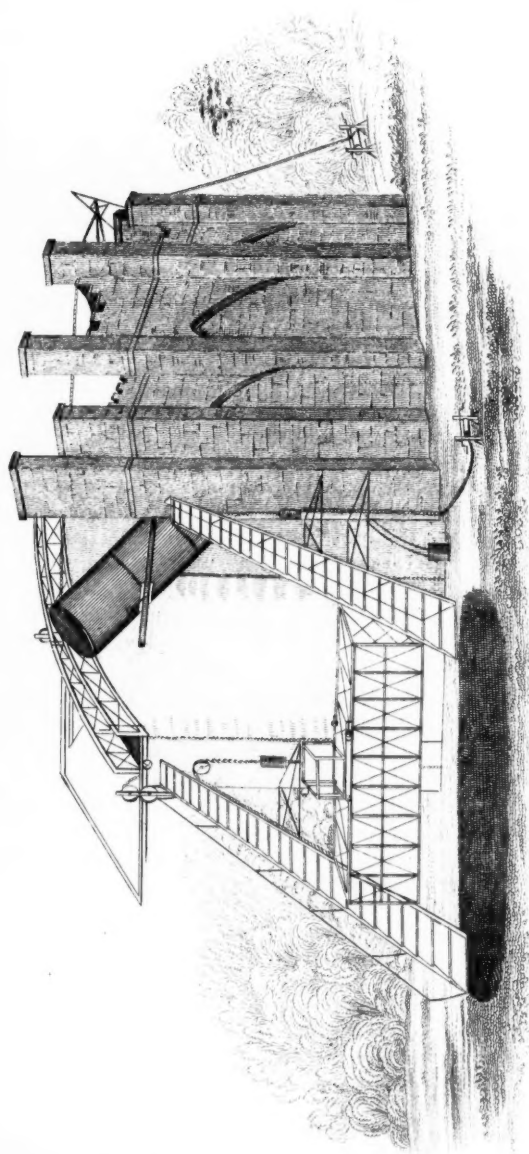
The transverse motion is effected with equal facility. An iron circle is fixed to the eastern wall, and from this runs a wooden pole, through the iron bed, which is fastened to the tube. A ratchet is fixed to the iron circle, and a handle acts upon this by means of an endless screw. This is, at present, worked by the hand, but it is intended to move by clock machinery, adjusted to the required rate of motion.

As the observer's gallery, however, is independent of the tube, there is a distinct provision by which he is enabled to follow all the movements described above. Within certain limits, as far as the ladders, shown in the front of the engraving (Plate III.), permit, the gallery is elevated

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\* *North British Review*. No. iii. p. 208.





*Perspective view of the 6 foot Reflector.*



by a windlass, fixed at the side of the wall; and the observer's box is moved with the utmost ease across the gallery, by a handle wrought by the observer himself. Beyond this point he follows the tube on a series of three galleries, of a very solid and ingenious construction, which may be wheeled out in succession, so as to reach the greatest point of distance in the transverse range of the tube.

All these movements are effected at present by the hand, but arrangements, we understand, are in progress, by which a motion, regulated by the movements of the object (as in the equatorial), can be imparted by machinery. This telescope, as well as the three-feet one, is used as a Newtonian, the small plane metal being placed near the mouth of the tube at an angle of  $45^\circ$  to the axis. It is so contrived, that, if deemed advisable, it may be used as a Herschelian; but with an aperture so enormous, the saving of light can hardly be an object of so much importance as to warrant the risk of indistinctness;\* and whether it shall ever be so used remains, we are informed, to be determined by future experiments. What amount of magnifying power in the eye-glass it may bear under the most favourable circumstances, cannot as yet be determined. The lowest power which will produce an emergent pencil of  $\frac{1}{20}$ , (the largest the eye will admit) is 360. Therefore, 360 is the lowest power which will render the whole aperture effective. And, hence, whenever the atmosphere will not bear a power of 360, there can be little use in employing this telescope. It is at present provided with eye-pieces of all focal lengths from 4 inches to  $\frac{1}{20}$  of an inch.

We feel that all these dry and minute details will be tedious and uninteresting to many of our readers. But we have hardly thought ourselves at liberty to omit any portion; partly, because the subject is one of great national interest, but still more, because it may be useful to direct attention even to the merest minutiae of a process so pregnant with important results to the cause of science. It remains for us to say a word upon a more interesting topic—what additions have been made, or may be expected to be made, by these instruments, to the existing stock of posi-

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\* In his paper in the *Phil. Trans.*, 1840, Lord Rosse states, that he was then engaged in experiments, as to the practicability of constructing a speculum which should form a portion of a paraboloid whose axis coincided with the side of the tube. This would give at the mouth of the tube an image entirely free from distortion.

tive knowledge of the heavens. The trial which they have received, especially the six-feet speculum, is not sufficient to warrant a conclusive judgment as to minute facts. The great telescope, owing to the absence of Lord Rosse from home, has been but once directed to the heavens.\* The object examined upon that occasion was a nebula, selected as an example for the Royal Society, one of a class the least promising, and least likely to yield new truths under increased optical power. It is known to be a cluster, and little more is likely ever to be known regarding it, unless accurate measurements should hereafter detect motion. With the appearance of this cluster in the three-feet reflector, Lord Rosse was perfectly familiar; and the contrast of its appearance in the large one was most striking. But, before he had time to observe it fully the night changed, and as the sky became overcast before any other remarkable object came within view, he saw nothing more of any interest.

The observations with the three-feet reflector have been more numerous, and a detailed account of some of them was communicated to the Royal Society on June 13, accompanied by drawings of five of the nebulae of Sir John Herschel's catalogue, as seen in this telescope. Before we transcribe the description of these observations, we think it right to offer a word of caution as to the *sort* of performance which should be expected from this instrument. In the first place, it may not be unnecessary to remind some of our readers, that when we speak of a telescope's magnifying 100 or 200 times, we refer not to the apparent diameter of the object as seen in the telescope, but to the magnitude of the angle under which it is seen. Now the increase or diminution of the apparent size, does not suppose any variation in this angle; but depends entirely (the angle being given) on the distance of the object. And, hence, in consequence of the immense distance of the fixed stars, their *apparent* magnitude is never increased, no matter how powerful the instrument, nor are their *real* discs rendered sensible. The only effect of instrumental power upon them, is to increase their *brilliancy*; and this is increased in the ratio of the aperture of the telescope, or as the square of its diameter. In the next place, it must be borne in mind, that, strange as it may seem, Lord Rosse's telescopes,

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\* Written in the beginning of January.

though they may of course be used, have not been designed for the study of the bodies in the solar system. At the time when he commenced the task of their construction, he conceived that the phenomena of our system had been sufficiently investigated, with the exception, perhaps, of Saturn's ring, and the anomalous motions of the satellites of the Georgian; and for these he conceived that existing instrumental power was abundantly sufficient. To the conditions necessary, therefore, for this branch of observation—nice contrivances for measurement, and for the comparison of masses and distances—he paid no attention. His ambition was turned rather to those vast “varieties of untried being,” which, with the exception of the Herschels, had till then received but little attention from practical men;—the worlds and systems of worlds known under the common name of multiple stars, and still more the mysterious luminous masses called *nebulae*, every detail of which opens a new problem in cosmogony, and suggests matter for almost limitless speculation. It is not difficult to understand, that the requirements of an instrument which might hopefully address itself to this sublime investigation, must be entirely peculiar. They must evidently be, great magnifying power, and, still more, great capacity for light. If, as astronomers teach, these faint patches of light be in reality systems of distant worlds, vast aggregates of separate luminosities, so remote as to form but one confused streak of blended light, how vast must be the capacity of collecting rays, and how perfect the power of condensing them, which would suffice to resolve into their numberless distinct and discernible images these faint blotches of *nebulosity*, barely traceable upon the dark surface of the sky even with the most powerful instruments! How great, and, still more, how accurate, the magnifying power which could bring even the minutest image of each under the eye! These are the objects which Lord Rosse's telescopes were intended to effect, and, of course, it is by this test they are to be tried.

Let us, therefore, take their effect upon the *nebulae* as an illustration of their power. There are few who have not heard and read of these mysterious masses of light, of an assemblage of which the Milky Way is a familiar example. But there are many who may not be aware of their number and extent. It is well ascertained, that the number of *nebulae* whose places are known in our hemisphere, is

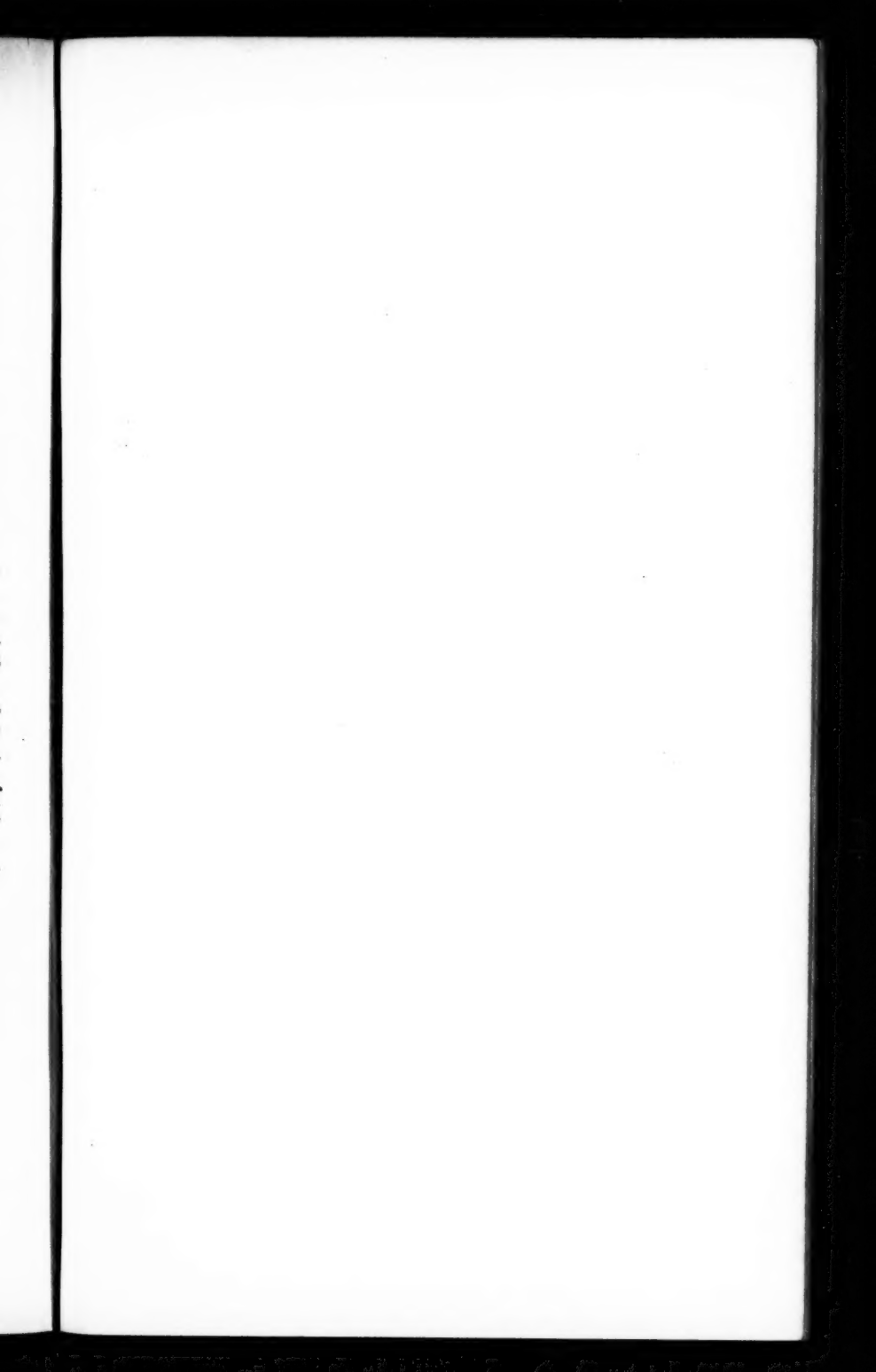
nearly two thousand—all nebulous to the naked eye—but when viewed in the telescope, some presenting the appearance of minute, but yet clearly distinct stars; others showing the stars distinct, but so close as almost to blend into one mass of faint light; others, again, not inaptly described as patches of star-dust flung irregularly upon the sky; others, in fine, losing even this shadow of individuality, and blent faintly and dimly into little streaks of misty light. From the time when the telescope first resolved the less distant of these extraordinary masses, and revealed the fact, that these at least were but assemblages of distant stars, this had been the generally received theory about all *nebulae*; and it was believed, that even those which still remained unresolved, differed from the rest only in being incomparably more distant; and that their ultimate resolution was reserved as a triumph of the still greater perfection of telescopic power. But some of Herschel's observations have suggested the idea, that certain of them, at least, are not collections of real stars; but rather what they seem to be, huge masses of subtle and attenuated luminous matter—the material, perhaps, from which suns and systems may hereafter be elaborated, but, as yet, floating in the infinite regions of space, unorganized, or at least still under the process of organization. There are certain circumstances connected with some of them, which give apparent probability to this theory. We may instance two very remarkable ones: the first in the Sword of Orion, the second in the Girdle of Andromeda. Of other *nebulae* it is found that, though to the naked eye and to instruments of low power they present the nebulous appearance, yet they lose it under the scrutiny of higher optical power. But of these two it is very remarkable, that, though *visible as nebulae to the naked eye*, and though under each successive accession of instrumental power they become more brilliant, yet *even to the finest instruments they give no appearance of resolvability*. This, it must be confessed, is a sort of evidence, that these bodies must be nebulous really and in truth, and not alone from their immense distance.

Upon these and similar grounds is built what is called the Nebular Hypothesis, propounded by La Place.\* The nebulous matter diffused through space in this, and even

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\* *Système du Monde*, ii. p. 418. Part of the chapter is translated by Nichol—*Architecture of the Heavens*, p. 204—but it deserves to be read entire.







R.A. 19<sup>h</sup> 52'  
Dec. 32° 49' North.

Fig. 26.  
*Nebulae as seen in Lord Rosse's 3 feet Reflector.*



R.A. 5<sup>h</sup> 24'  
Dec. 21° 53' North.

Fig 81.

far less palpable forms,\* is, according to his hypothesis, the material from which all the great bodies of the visible creation are composed. All the nebulae are observed to have certain centres, more dense and brilliant than the rest. Around these denser nuclei is gradually collected the whole mass of matter within the sphere of their attraction: a process of gradual condensation thus goes on: the nebulous mass increases in solidity, and, consequently, diminishes in diffusion. Rotation commences; and, by a fixed and well-known law, increases with the condensation of the mass. The body at last acquires a certain solidity, of which, perhaps, the comets of our system are an example, and eventually becomes a planet, or even a sun itself, the centre of a system.

One of the chief grounds of this daring hypothesis is, the supposed *globular form* of the vast majority of the known nebulae.† Now, this assumption appears to be entirely disproved by Lord Rosse's observations with the three-foot telescope, and it is, of course, to be presumed, that the further instrumental power of the large telescope will reveal still more of the mystery. We subjoin his Lordship's analysis of these observations on five of Herschel's nebulae:

"Plate XVIII. FIG. 88, is one of the many well-known clusters; I have selected it merely for the purpose of showing that in such objects we find no new feature, nothing which had not been seen with instruments of inferior power; the stars, of course, are more brilliant, more separated, and more numerous. I fear that no amount of optical power will make these objects better known to us, though perhaps exact measurements may bring out something.

"FIG. 81 is also a cluster; we perceive in this, however, a considerable change of appearance; it is no longer an oval resolvable nebula; we see resolvable filaments singularly disposed, springing principally from its southern extremity, and not, as is usual, in clusters, irregularly in all directions. Probably greater power would bring out other filaments, and that it would then assume the ordinary form of a cluster. It is studded with stars, mixed, however, with a nebulosity, probably consisting of stars too minute to be recognized. It is an easy object, and I have shown it to many, and all have been at once struck with its remarkable aspect. Every thing in the sketch can be seen under moderately favourable circumstances.

Plate XIX. FIG. 26, on the contrary, is a difficult object; it

\* For example, the *Resisting Medium*, the existence of which the variation in the time of Encke's comet seems to place beyond question.

† See Nichol's *Architecture of the Heavens*, p. 130.

requires an extremely fine night, and a tolerably high power; it is then seen to consist of innumerable stars, mixed with nebulosity; and when we turn the eye from the telescope to the Milky Way, the similarity is so striking, that it is impossible not to feel a pretty strong conviction, that the nebulosity in both proceeds from the same cause.

"FIG. 29.—The annular nebula in Lyra; 2 is the star in Sir John Herschel's sketch; I have inserted the six other stars as, in some degree, tests of the power of a telescope. Near star 3 there are two very minute stars seen with great difficulty; the others are easily seen, whenever the light is sufficiently good to show the nebulae well. The filaments proceeding from the edge become more conspicuous, under increased magnifying power within certain limits, which is strikingly characteristic of a cluster; still I do not feel confident that it is resolvable. I am, however, disposed to think, that it was never examined when the instrument was in as good order, and the night as favourable, as on the several occasions when the resolvability of figure 26 was ascertained.

"FIG. 47 is one apparently of another class. It has a star in the centre, and is of unequal brightness; the nebulosity is in patches, and I have sometimes fancied, though probably erroneously, that I could discover in it a faint resemblance to figure 26. The star in the centre is easily seen, and there is nothing peculiar in its appearance; it is exactly like other stars seen in nebulae; still it may really be but the brilliant condensed centre of a very remote cluster. I have not, however, detected any gradual increase of brilliancy towards the centre.

"Not to multiply sketches, which may soon require correction, I shall merely add, that in figure 32 we also find a star in the centre, and in figure 85 likewise a star in the centre, and many other minute stars in and close to it, so that it is really a cluster. The double nebulae (figure 72) consists of two clusters, between which there is a star easily seen on even an indifferent night. In figure 49, there are minute stars between and about the three large stars, and I think there can be no doubt it is a cluster. Figure 25 abounds in stars, mixed with nebulosity; I have not seen it on a very fine night, but it was observed by my assistant, and by a gentleman who was with him, and they had no doubt but that the centre was completely resolved. In the little annular nebulae (figure 48) I see nothing remarkable, further than a star in the north preceding edge; it is tolerably conspicuous, and is about half-way between the exterior and interior circumference of the annulus.

"FIG. 45 is a very remarkable object. It is no longer a planetary nebulae, but an annular nebula, like that of Lyra, with a similarly fringed edge, though much less distinctly seen; it is oval, but the central portion is not so dark as that of Lyra; it very closely resembles the annular nebula of Lyra, seen with an instrument of inferior power."—*Observations*, pp. 2-3.

The accompanying plate (IV.) represents two of these interesting objects as shown in the three-feet reflector, selected from among five which illustrate his Lordship's paper in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

The first of these (numbered 81 in Herschel's catalogue and 51 in that of Messier), had hitherto been represented as of an *oval* figure. A glance at the plate will enable the reader to judge of the power of Lord Rosse's instrument. The singularly fantastic filaments which shoot from its southern extremity, have been detected by the superior illuminating power of the new telescope. They change the entire character of the figure; and it is not improbably conjectured by Lord Rosse, that a further increase of power might bring out other filaments, and thus restore it to the ordinary form of a cluster.

The second is a much more splendid object. It is numbered 26 in Herschel's catalogue, and from its supposed form has hitherto been called the *Dumb-bell Nebula*. Our plate, however, will show how far this name is from giving a true idea of the shape and extent of the cluster. It is found to want the exact elliptical termination of the figure under which it was shown in Herschel's telescope, and to be of infinitely greater extent, and entirely different character. Another of Herschel's nebulae (numbered 45 in his catalogue), which he represented as a *planetary* nebula of a *round* figure, is shown by Lord Rosse to be of an *annular* form, like that of *Lyra*, though much less distinctly seen.

From these comparisons it will be seen, not only, in general, that the observations hitherto made upon nebulae are too imperfect to form a safe foundation for any hypothesis; but also, that, in particular, the determinate nebulae pointed out by Herschel as globular in form, are not really globular, but of most irregular and unsymmetrical figures.

Lord Rosse's observations extended to about two-thirds of the figured nebulae; and in many others he discovered other less remarkable discrepancies of form from that assigned in Herschel's figures.\* On the general question of the ultimate resolvability of all nebulae, he offers no decisive opinion.

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\* We shall anxiously look for his Lordship's report upon the Moon, and upon the general character of Messrs. Bäer and Maedler's map of the lunar surface. He states, that wherever the three-feet reflector has been tried, it has already brought out many new details not noticed by them.

"We should err were we to assume, that the absence of resolvability was evidence conclusive that the object was not a cluster. In some instances, with increasing optical power, the resolvable character has become clearly developed (as in figure 26), and a further increase of power has shown the object resolved. It is also important to observe, that now, as has always been the case, an increase of instrumental power has added to the number of clusters, at the expense of the nebulae properly so called; still it would be very unsafe to conclude, that such will always be the case, and thence to draw the obvious inference, that all nebulosity is but the glare of stars too remote to be separated by the utmost power of our instruments."

But we must draw to a close. And, indeed, there are few who may not shrink at the wild and dreamy speculations which this startling subject suggests. How elevating, yet how humbling, the conceptions it forces upon the mind! How it overpowers us with the consciousness of the limitlessness of the works of the Great Creator! Take the nebula of Orion as an example. Suppose its distance from our earth to be only that of a star of the eighth magnitude. Even if this be its real distance from us, a portion of it, only 10' in diameter, must spread through a space exceeding the dimensions of our sun, more than 2,000,000,000,000,000 times! And yet this is but an atom in the masses of nebulous matter which we see all around!

Now, to realize in some faint degree the infinite immensity of the universe, which this and similar observations necessarily imply, let it be only imagined (what indeed the telescope demonstratively shows for most of them), that each of these distant masses is a system, like the vast system in which ours is but a small unit—a system as extensive, as glorious, as perfect as our own; but so immensely distant, that the rays of the single bodies which compose it—its suns and stars—are blent together in their passage towards us, and, as it were, interpenetrate each other, so as to appear to our eyes but one luminous mass. And, to give the full grandeur of this conception somewhat of a palpable form, let it be conceived, that our whole visible universe, with all its parts, its myriads of suns and stars, which we see all around us, *is but a nebula in the vastness of space!* that, just as the nebulae appear nebulous to us, so also to an observer in one of the worlds of some of these distant regions, all the bright and glo-



rious orbs we see, not alone our own little system—the sun which rules our day, and the moon which lights up our night—but sun and stars and all—Sirius, and Procyon, and Capella, stars of the first, and stars of the twelfth magnitude—bodies separated from each other by myriads of millions of miles—are all brought together into such apparent proximity, as to be seen under an almost imperceptible angle, and in the appearance of a faint patch of misty light! Above all, let it be imagined—if indeed the mind can bear this stretching of its powers—that, as we see these wondrous bodies in every quarter of our heavens, so to an observer in the most remote of them all, at the farthest point of space to which the most powerful telescope can ever hope to penetrate, similar appearances may present themselves, not alone in the direction of our system, or in those directions to which our sight can reach, but to the north, and the south, and the east, and the west;—let all this be imagined, and *perhaps* (for, after all, these are but *possible* limits), some idea may then be formed of the force of the Lord's address to the Patriarch, *Suspice cælum, et numera stellas SI POTES!*

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ART. II.—1. *Notice Historique sur l'origine de la Nation Maronite et sur ses rapports avec la France, sur la Nation Druze et sur les diverses population du Mont Liban par Monsieur Nicholas Murad, Archeveque Maronite de Laodicée, et Representant de sa nation pres le Saint Siège.* Paris: 1844.

2. *The Crescent and the Cross; or, Romance and Realities of Eastern Travel.* By ELLIOT B. G. WARBURTON, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1845.

3. *The Modern Syrians, or Native Society in Damascus, Aleppo, and the Mountains of the Druses, from Notes made in those parts during the years 1841-2-3.* By an ORIENTAL STUDENT. 1 vol. London: 1844.

4. *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith.* Dublin: 1843-4.

IN the marvellous fecundity of our modern literature, scarcely a day passes without bringing before us a notice of some foreign country, and a description, more or less interesting, and more or less elaborate, of the natives

of other lands. This is almost a necessary consequence of the extension of our commerce, and the facility of publication which our literature affords. Yet, amid the many objects of attraction which are thus each day presented, we confess that none possess for us so great a charm as those that come from the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, and more especially the neighbourhood of the Holy Land. We have often escorted to the packet-office dear friends who were going to see the splendours of Paris, or to make their long-intended visit to the threshold of the Apostles, and as the steamer bore them away over the hissing waters, we have envied their good fortune only because they were somewhat nearer than ourselves to the land which, beyond all others, we should wish to see. It may be that our temperament is cast in a mould too antiquated for these times, and that the spirit which moves within us is more akin to that which filled men's minds six or seven centuries ago; but the truth is, that the sound of Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon, have ever kindled within our breast hopes and aspirations, such as we have never felt even for Athens and for Rome. Had we lived in the days of Peter the Hermit, or Bernard of Clairveaux, we should have been the ready instrument of their zeal, and taken our stand, were it only with our staff and scallop-shell, among the foremost ranks of those who braved the perils of sea and land to lay them down for ever in the consecrated earth of Palestine. We have been often told, that were our fondest wish attained, the feelings that awaited us would be those of disappointment, that few vestiges of its former glory now remain, and that the sword of the Osmanlee, and it may be the visitation of God, have spread barrenness and desolation over those fields which once teemed with luxuriance when they were the heritage of God's chosen people. But the landmark is still upon the plain, and the cedar upon the hills; the rock has not changed its dwelling-place, nor the stream its bed; and the hallowed veneration of ages has perpetuated the memory of those scenes, and determined beyond cavilling the position of those events which have been such as never upon this earth were done. The Mounts of Olives and of Thabor, the towns of Bethlehem and of Nazareth, have never passed away, and "Time's decaying fingers" have not effaced the everlasting tops of Lebanon. No voice that ever spoke in the halls of Athens or the portico of the Parthenon, can

be compared to that which so oft was heard on Sion; and even the blood that consecrated the Vatican must yield in holiness to that which purpled the hill of Calvary. It may be judged, therefore, with what interest we take up any work which promises to tell us of those hallowed scenes, and to supply, as far as printed pages can supply, the information we wish to possess; and how we hail with pleasure any tidings that come to us, as these volumes profess to come from the verdant slopes of Libanus, "from the top of Amana, from the top of Sanir and Hermon; from the dens of the lions, and the mountains of leopards."

These volumes contain a description of the present population and condition of the mountains of Libanus, which we bring before our readers the more willingly, that it enables us to continue our sketches of the Oriental Christians, which we have attempted, we hope not unsuccessfully, in the past numbers. The subject of our present notice, the Maronites, should be more interesting than any of the others, as being united to our own communion. It will be impossible to understand their history and condition, without including in our notice another people, their fellow-countrymen and neighbours, though widely differing from them in religion—the Druses.

In the beginning of the fifth century there lived on a mountain in Syria a holy anchoret called Maro. Like all the recluses of that beautiful climate he lived night and day in the open air. He had a small hut, indeed, covered with goat-skins, but he seldom needed or had recourse to its protection. In his neighbourhood there was an old ruin, which had once served as a pagan temple, but Maro cleansed and purified it from the foul pollution it had contracted, and made thereof a small oratory, where he prayed and gave spiritual advice to those who sought it at his hands. There, too, he offered the holy sacrifice on being raised to the order of priesthood, to which his virtue entitled him. Theodoret speaks with admiration of his piety. The fathers of the Council of Chalcedon have honoured him with their eulogy, and from the place of his exile Chrysostom wrote to solicit the benefit of his prayers. Surely the man who could obtain such varied and such exalted testimony, must have been an eminent servant of God. After a long and edifying life his divine Master called him to himself, and cities and provinces contested the honour of having his remains among them. Three

large monasteries were said to be built over his tomb, but it is now impossible to discover to which that honour is really due; though it has with much probability been assigned to that on the banks of the Orontes, between Apamea and Emesa, which long afterwards was known by his name. These monasteries contained many religious men who were instructed enough or fortunate enough to preserve the orthodox doctrine amid the religious controversies of the time, and in the Eutychian and Monothelite controversies they bowed to the decision of the Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon. John, a religious of one of these communities, and thence called the Maronite, distinguished himself for his able and energetic defence of these decisions against the innovators of the time, and it is said that from him, still more than from the founder of his order, the national name of Maronite is derived.

Mosheim and several others have asserted that John was a follower of Macarius, bishop of Antioch, who, in the third Council of Constantinople, declared that he would rather suffer himself to be cut in pieces, than admit two wills in Christ. They also maintain, that it was to the opposition and armed resistance offered by the Syrians, at the instance of John, to the decrees of Constantine the Fourth against the Monothelites, that they owe the name of Mardaïti, which is applied to them by the writers of these times. This imputation is, however, indignantly rejected by the Maronites themselves, who are proud of what they believe the untarnished orthodoxy of their nation, and who revere the memory of John, as one who suffered and laboured much for the church of God. Pagi, Palma, and Benedict the XIV., have given the weight of their authority to this opinion, and Pius the VII. seems to us to have vindicated his sanctity by according the usual indulgences to those who would visit a church of the Maronites on the day that his festival is celebrated. With such authorities on our side, and being also disposed to look with suspicion on those from whom the imputation has come, we believe the origin of this word to have arisen from the contests with the incroaching power of the Saracens. In the seventh century, when the followers of Mahomet had got possession of Damascus, and the whole of Syria seemed about to yield to their victorious arms, the Christians who fled from the dread alternative left by the conquerors to the vanquished, took refuge in the defiles of Libanus, and inspired by the

hardy courage of the mountaineers, and also encouraged by the security of their possessions, defied the power of the caliphs. By union and perseverance they not only succeeded in driving the Saracens from the hills, but pursued them with slaughter almost to the gates of Damascus. They compelled the caliph to sue for a truce of thirty years, and bind himself to pay a small tribute to the emperor, Constantine Pogonatus, their nominal sovereign. The mountains of Libanus were thus the first barrier to that tide of conquest which was pouring onward from the sands of the desert, and the successor of Mahomet was compelled for the first time in his career, to bend before the warriors of the mountains. A great number of these warriors were Christians who had retired from the plains of Syria, especially in the neighbourhood of Antioch, under the leadership of John the Maronite. He had been consecrated Bishop of Djebail, by the legate of the Pope at Antioch; and his episcopal rank as well as his personal merit, won for him considerable influence among his people. This influence he exercised to promote union and industry among them. They had a powerful and unscrupulous enemy ever ready to take advantage of their dissensions, on the one side, and from whom, if vanquished, they could hope for little mercy. They had, on the other hand, the degenerate and powerless princes of the tottering empire of Constantine. To rest their hopes on these would be about as wise, as for the gallant natives of Circassia in our own times, to trust for aid to the king of Persia against the legions of the Czar. The Maronite took his determination at once, to put not his trust in princes, but to rely upon the right-arms of his people and on God. He introduced order among them, inured them to military discipline, and provided them with leaders and the necessary instruments of warfare. The divisions of the caliphs themselves which took place after the death of Mahomet, enabled him to carry these changes into effect with more ease and regularity; and such was the success of their arms, that in a few years they became masters of all the mountains nearly as far south as Jerusalem. It was this determined and successful stand that obtained for them in reality the name of Mardaïti. They subsequently exchanged it for that of Maronites, a name which after the lapse of above a thousand years they still retain.

John had been the ablest leader and recognized head of

the orthodox in the mountains. When these extended their power over the greatest part of Syria, and had possession of the sea coast from the mouth of the Orontes to the foot of Carmel, it was deemed advisable to invest their spiritual chief with a corresponding dignity, and John was accordingly appointed by Sergius the First, Patriarch of the Maronites. This nomination took place in 686, in which year the Pope sent him the pallium. Shortly after the death of John, the Maronites were severely visited, not by the Saracens, but by the Byzantine emperor, Justinian the Second, who had the meanness to become their instrument in removing one of the noblest defences of his empire—a brave people upon its frontiers. In 685 the caliph concluded a treaty with Justinian, one of the conditions of which was, that Justinian should free the caliph from the incursions of the Maronites. The degrading condition was carried into effect by means more degrading still, for his Imperial Majesty had recourse to the dagger of the assassin, to rid him of his enemy; and in defiance of every principle of law and honour, the person he employed was his own ambassador. The too confiding chief received him into his house, and he availed himself of the rights of hospitality to plunge his knife into the breast of his unsuspecting host. Notwithstanding the atrocity of this vile deed, the murderer, by means which we cannot now discover, was able to persuade 12,000 men to remove from their habitations, and leave a free passage for the Mahometan arms. Justinian followed up his attempt by sending an army under Marcian and Maurice to lay waste their country. The great monastery of Hama was consigned to the flames, and its inmates, to the number of 500, massacred without mercy. The nation was only saved from total destruction by one of those revolutions which formed part of the daily history of the eastern empire. Justinian resolved to second the operations of his lieutenants in Syria, by a massacre in the capital, but was dethroned by a conspiracy of some disaffected nobles. His successor was differently disposed towards the Maronites, and with his permission they fell upon the army of Maurice, and cut them and their leader to pieces. From this period, and amid the troubles of the East, we lose sight of them, until, three or four centuries later, their history becomes connected with the Crusaders.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, Bandecar, Sul-



tan of Egypt, got possession of the city of Antioch. His cruelty and fanaticism drove into exile the Catholics who had been living there for years, and with their patriarch Elias at their head, and accompanied by the clergy of the city, they took refuge among their brethren of Libanus. Simon, the patriarch of the Maronites, received them with kindness and hospitality. Hospitality has ever been a distinguishing characteristic of this people, and the Christians of Antioch soon found themselves at home among their brethren. They had provisions in abundance, enjoyed the shelter of their roofs, and some received lands to cultivate. Their naturalization became complete when they built and consecrated churches for themselves. The holy father manifested his gratitude for the kindness shown to his afflicted children, by appointing Simon Patriarch of Antioch on the death of Elias a few years after. This dignity was confirmed to the successors of Simon by the pontiffs of later times; and at this day the patriarch of the Maronites assumes the apostolic title, Patriarch of Antioch. He exercises jurisdiction over nine sees: viz. Aleppo, Damascus, Beyrout, Said, Eopoli, Djebail, Eden, Tripoli, and Cyprus. Besides these—the ordinaries, as we may term them, of the nation, there are six others—bishops “in partibus.” Two of these are always in attendance on the patriarch, and perform the duties of vicars and assistants, one of the spiritual, the other of the temporal department. A third usually resides at Rome, where he acts as the official representative of his nation. The remaining three are intrusted with the care of the more important convents and seminaries of Libanus. They are all nominated and consecrated by the patriarch, who is himself elected by his suffragans, though the election is not complete until it is sanctioned by the Pope.

“The nation of the Maronites,” says the archbishop of Laodicea, “which at one period contained near a million of souls, does not amount at this day to more than 525,000, of whom 482,000 inhabit the valleys of Libanus.\* The remainder are scattered over various parts of the Turkish empire; principally in Aleppo, Damascus, Cairo, Cyprus, a few parts of Africa and Asia, as also at Constantinople, all recognizing for their spiritual head, after the Pope, the patriarch residing in Libanus, where he has three differ-

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\* Gerambe gives 200,000 only as the number of the Maronites of Libanus.  
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ent residences. This population can bring into the field from fifty to sixty thousand fighting men.

"The convents of monks and nuns amount to eighty-two. Those for monks, which are sixty-seven in number, contain 1410 religious. The remaining fifteen contain 330 nuns. All these houses have very rigorous constitutions approved of by the Holy See. There are, exclusive of convents, 356 churches in the country. They are served by 1205 priests, who all acknowledge the authority of their respective bishops. The laity also recognize and reverence the power of the clergy, and discharge with piety and exactness their Christian (sacramental) obligations, especially at the time of Easter. There are four public seminaries, each of which contains from twenty to twenty-five pupils. These are gratuitously instructed in the Arabic and Syriac languages, philosophy, dogmatic and moral theology. Those who study theology must, however, previously engage to embrace the ecclesiastical state, promise obedience to the patriarch, and devote themselves to the missions of the country. For some years past, the patriarch has been in the habit of appointing a particular spot, where he collects according to his own desire, and under a superior designated by him, zealous and enlightened priests, who go every year to preach in the different districts. This is called 'The National Mission.'

"The Maronites follow entirely the arrangements of the Roman Calendar, both as to the division of time, and the distribution of the festivals, excepting only a few that are peculiar to themselves. The Syriac is the language of the mass and divine office, but the gospel, epistle, and a few collects, are repeated aloud in the Arabic, that being the language understood by the people, the Syriac being to them what the Latin is to the Catholics of Europe. The communion is administered in unleavened bread, according to the Roman rite, and, in fine, the priestly and pontifical ornaments and apparel are the same as those used by the Roman clergy."—*Notice Historique*, page 18.

This is, however, the discipline of the Maronites only of late years and since their liturgy and ritual were revised by the Holy See. Before that event took place, their rite differed in several particulars from that of the Latin Church, and their discipline was not very different from that of the other Oriental Christians. The secular clergy were allowed to retain the wives they had married before receiving holy orders. The communion was administered in both kinds, to those who received it publicly in the church, but the sick were accustomed to receive it in one form alone. The host was a small round loaf of the thickness of a finger, and about the size of a crown-piece. It had impressed upon it the mark of a seal, which part

was consumed by the consecrating priest, and the rest being divided into small pieces, was put into the chalice and distributed to the communicants by means of a small spoon. Each village had its chapel and priest, like the villages of France and Italy; and each chapel had its bell, which, as it sent its sweet sounds across the hills on the sabbath morning, carried to every peasant's heart the assurance of his exemption from the evils of Moslem rule, for wherever the Turk has full dominion, this privilege is denied the Christian. It was for a similar reason that he cherished with an honourable pride the right of wearing a green turban, which, except in the fastnesses of his native mountains, would be an outrage on the religious prejudices of the Turk, to be atoned for only by the blood of the sacrilegious offender. For what could be more offensive to a true believer than that an infidel dog, as the Christian was contumeliously called, should arrogate to himself an honour which belonged only to the lineal descendants of the Prophet? Matters have, however, been much changed in the mountains of Libanus by the revolutions of late years.

The intimate relations which have connected the Maronites with the Holy See for the last few centuries, are, in great measure, owing to the establishment at Rome of a college for the youth of that nation. It was founded by the liberality of Gregory XIII. to whose enlightened policy the Christian world is indebted for so many other advantages, and at the suggestion of the Jesuits. It has had the good fortune of producing several men of more than ordinary excellence and distinction. We need only mention the names of Abraham Echellensis, and the three Assemani—Joseph, Stephen Evodius, and Lewis; whose services in the field of oriental literature have never been surpassed, and to whose influence with their people much of their present strong partiality for the Latin Communion is to be attributed. The services of Joseph Assemani deserve particular notice. This great man is better known to the world by his literary labours than by those which he endured in his missionary capacity. Yet were these of more than ordinary importance, for it was under his presidency that the first national council of the Maronite church was held. He was born at Tripoli, on the coast of Syria, in 1687, and was sent to the college of his nation in Rome at the early age of eight years. He was about to leave it in

the ordinary course at the termination of his studies, when his proficiency in the Syriac tongue procured him a situation as sub-librarian in the Vatican. Some time after he was sent to Egypt, for the purpose of procuring valuable ancient manuscripts which were said to be still existing in a monastery of that country. His journey was eminently successful, and he returned to Rome, after an absence of a year and four months, with many rare and valuable additions to the library. He was soon promoted to the post of prefect, or upper keeper of the Vatican library. To a man of Assemani's habits, whose ruling passion was a love of reading, this situation was the greatest boon he could receive; and if left to his own wishes he would have lived and died within its walls. But the church required his services, and he was called away to preside at the National Synod of the Maronites, which Clement XII. resolved to hold for the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline. His birth, his education, his national connexions, and the confidence that was reposed in his zeal and integrity, pointed him out as the individual best qualified for the purpose. His countymen were already proud of his fame, and it was thought would yield a ready obedience to his suggestions. Clement gave him full legatine powers, and after several conferences with the patriarch and influential clergy, he succeeded in opening the council on the 30th of September, 1736. It was attended by eighteen bishops, of whom fourteen were Maronite, two Syrian, and two Armenian. The abbots of several monasteries were also present, together with a multitude of the priests and chief people of the country. The state of the Maronite church at this time may be judged of by the subjects that came under discussion. It was complained of by the more zealous and enlightened clergy, that dispensations to marry, excommunications, and even spiritual censures, were sold; that the Eucharist was not administered but in the monasteries; that the clergy, in some instances, married again after the death of their first wives; that the decoration of the churches and the support of the poor were neglected; that the patriarch arrogated to himself the exclusive right of blessing the holy oils, which he distributed to his suffragans and clergy at a fixed price; that in some congregations the Liturgy was performed in the Arabic—the vulgar tongue; and, finally, that the prudent reserve prescribed by the canons, was not

observed by the clergy in their intercourse with the nuns. In the East, where females are wont to observe much more reserve towards the other sex, than in our times and country, it is possible that even a trifling deviation from the ordinary etiquette may have given much scandal. However, it is evident from the nature of these complaints, that the church of the Libanus, however it may have fallen away from its first fervour, had not swerved much from the line of essential discipline. The synod held eight meetings, and applied remedies to every one of these abuses. Some of the members were dissatisfied. Even the patriarch thought some of the provisions bore too hardly on his authority; but the legatine character of Assemani bore down all opposition, and at the close of the council he was empowered to embody its proceedings in a series of decrees, which have been since known as the decrees of the Council of Lebanon. The money which was placed at his disposal by the Holy See for such a contingency, enabled him to secure for these decrees the authority of the Turkish government. He also, during his stay in Syria, provided in a spirit of enlightened policy, which was much in advance of his times, for the education of the humbler classes, by establishing schools, which the superior clergy were to support, and where the poor would receive instruction gratuitously. After the successful termination of the great business of his mission, he returned to Rome. Yet, amid the multiplicity of his other avocations, he was not unmindful of the darling passion of his life, and he brought with him from the convents of Syria a large collection of MSS., 2,000 coins and medals, and a curious tablet, which contained the authentic and original record of various civil privileges given to the Egyptians by the Emperor Diocletian. Notwithstanding the success which attended this mission, he had no sooner left the country than, with the inconsistency which has ever marked the eastern churches, the decrees of the synod began to meet with opposition. The patriarch himself was dissatisfied with its enactments. He sent two deputies to Rome, to oppose their confirmation; but their remonstrances were disregarded, and the proceedings were fully and publicly confirmed and ratified by Benedict XIV. on the 14th of September, 1741. This great pontiff availed himself of the opportunity which presented itself, to give his unqualified approbation to the conduct of

the legate, and to censure at the same time the conduct of his opponents. This synod exercised a very beneficial influence over the eastern churches, and its decrees have been ever since recognized as the ground-work of the discipline of the Maronites. Assemani lived near thirty years after the conclusion of the synod. They were all spent amid his books and papers, and the mere list of the works published and unpublished in which he was engaged, are, in themselves, enough to fill a good-sized volume.\*

Before we refer to the present political condition of the Maronites, we must say a word or two about the other inhabitants of the Lebanon—the Druses and Montualis. In language, government, and mode of life, the three nations are perfectly identified, but they differ widely in religion. With respect to the Montualis, it is enough to say, that they are Mahometans of the sect of Ali, which is divided from the sect of Omar by as theological an hatred, and, perhaps, by something more, as any two sects are among ourselves. They are computed by the Maronite archbishop to amount to about 800 souls, while the Pere Gerambe in his pilgrimage estimates them at 80,000. Perhaps this is a misprint, but it is clear that the first is the more likely computation. They reside at the foot of Libanus to the east, and are almost the only occupants of the valley of Baalbeck. The Druses merit more detailed consideration. In the year 996, which was the 386th of the Hegira, Hakem, the third caliph of the dynasty of the Fatemites, ascended the throne of Egypt. He was only eleven years old. Youth and inexperience, ignorance of the world, which is almost the necessary result of childhood spent in an oriental harem, and probably the adulation of his obsequious court, soon produced their fruits, and the young caliph began to astonish not a little the good people of Cairo by the eccentricities of his conduct. Perhaps his mind was never of the soundest description, and it was then and since suspected, that he laboured

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\* It is said that in the libraries of Rome, besides his printed books, there are still extant enough to fill an hundred volumes in Assemani's own hand-writing. A fire which broke out on the 30th of August, 1768, within a year after his death, in the apartments in the Vatican, which had been occupied by him, and were then occupied by his nephew, destroyed whole volumes of his papers ready for the press. Many of the works he published are of vast extent, as, viz. the "*Bibliotheca Orientalis*," the "*Kalendaria*," but some were so comprehensive, that no individual industry however great, and no life however long, could possibly complete them.



under insanity. He directed, to the horror of the true believers, curses to be publicly uttered against the memory of the first followers of Mahomet in the mosques at the hours of prayer. In a few days he consented to revoke the order. He compelled the Christians and Jews to turn Mahometans, under pain of death, but in a few days he revoked this edict also. He made it a capital crime to manufacture slippers for women, intending, by this means, to confine them entirely to their own houses. He would not permit a female on any business, however pressing, to appear in the public streets. Like his imperial prototype among the Cæsars, he burned one half of the capital for his amusement, and to secure the good will of the soldiery, he permitted them to pillage the other. He completed the climax of his absurdities by prohibiting the ordinary and prescribed devotions of the Moslem, and proclaiming that he himself was God. We know not to what convulsions these innovations would have given rise, if the career of Hakem had not been cut short by the fears of an only sister. The tyrant threatened her with a jury of matrons. Furious at the meditated indignity, or afraid of its probable results, she determined to anticipate the blow, and had him privately assassinated, and buried outside the town by some of her own trusty attendants. The followers of Hakem—for what fanatic has not had followers—amounted to about 1600, according to a census taken by him before his death, and were under the guidance of several of his agents, who pretended to the gift of prophecy. As no one attempted to account for his disappearance, they gave out that Hakem was gone up to heaven, and that he would soon return to unite and console his afflicted disciples. One of these, Mohammed-ben-Ismael, propagated his opinion with zeal and success throughout Syria and Palestine, especially in the neighbourhood of the sea coast, and being persecuted by the local governors, took refuge with his followers in Libanus. There they still maintain their tenets unmolested by religious persecution. The name of Druse, by which they are popularly known, is derived from El Dorzo, one of the surnames of Mohammed.\*

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\* It was rather a fanciful conjecture to derive this name from a certain Count de Dreux, who was supposed to have settled in the Libanus with a party of Crusaders. Deprived of all intercourse with the west by the encroachment of the Saracens, their descendants were supposed to have become the Druses of the



From the period of their occupation of the mountains until the beginning of the sixteenth century, they remained almost unknown. The only proofs of their existence and activity we find, are some occasional battles with the Turks, and some desultory skirmishing upon the flanks of the crusaders. About the close of that century, however, they acquired considerable distinction by their success against the troops of Selim and the Second Soliman. After a gallant struggle, however, their stubborn valour had to give way to the superior and overwhelming numbers sent against them by Amurath the Third. Ibrahim Pacha, the victorious general, penetrated the defiles of the mountains, and, aided by their domestic dissensions, succeeded in extorting a contribution of one million of piastres, and imposed a tribute which has continued to the present time. Instead of many independent chieftains, to facilitate the collection of the tribute, and exercise some direct control, he vested the supreme power in one person, and, by this mistaken policy, rendered his tenure of their allegiance more precarious and uncertain; for, by consolidating its civil and military resources, he made the power of the nation more available and effective. This result was soon perceived when the Emir Fakardin attained supremacy, and brought the united power of the Druses to bear upon the Turks. He not only got possession of what his people had lost in the war with Ibrahim, but made himself successively master of Beyrout, Said, Baalbeck, and extended his conquests to the plain of Ajalon. But the Porte, becoming alarmed at his aggressions, concerted a simultaneous attack, and by forces sufficiently numerous to crush his power, it was thought, for ever. Fakardin took refuge in Italy, where he was favourably received at the court of Florence, and left his son Ali to abide the storm, which he was afraid to meet in person. Victory attended the sword of the young Emir, and, after an absence of nine years, the father returned to take possession once more of the power which was preserved from destruction by the valour of the son. He brought with him from the classic soil of Italy, a love for the fine arts. Splendid baths, sumptuous villas, and ornamented pleasure-grounds, began to adorn the verdant slopes of

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present day. It is scarcely necessary to say that this conjecture is now universally rejected, for the name is found in the itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled before the time of the Crusades.

Libanus, and, in utter defiance of the precepts of the Koran, painting and sculpture began to shed their beauties upon their walls. But even Art cannot call its fair creations into existence, but where it uses the magic wand of gold, and in the sunny sky of Syria gold was only to be had from the sweat and toil of the hardy tillers of the soil. Men soon found that they had a double tax to pay, and therefore more labour to undergo, and they soon murmured and complained. From complaint to disaffection, from disaffection to rebellion, the steps are few, and the transition easy, when men have arms in their hands, and have from their earliest years been taught to love liberty and fight against the tyranny of their rulers. The neighbouring pachas became jealous of his splendour, and the sultan himself was rendered distrustful of his loyalty. Against such odds it was hard to succeed. Ali, whose sword had once averted ruin, was struck down in the heat of a battle he had almost won, and the aged father, dragged from his lurking-place in the mountains, was taken prisoner to Constantinople, where he was strangled by the orders of Amurath, about the year 1631.

After the death of Fakardin, the principality of the Libanus continued nominally in his descendants, but really in the pachas of Acre and Damascus. His family became extinct about the beginning of the last century, and that of Shehab, which was united to it by marriage, succeeded to the supreme power. The members of this family have been the princes of Libanus for more than 140 years, and have been struggling with various success against the enmity, open or insidious, of the Turkish authorities. Melhem, who died in 1759, retrieved in some measure, the fallen fortunes of his house, and extended his power over almost all the territory that was possessed by Fakardin. He was succeeded by Mansour, and afterwards by Joussef. The Emir Beschir, whose name must be familiar to most of our readers, is the sixth in regular succession of the family of Shehab. When Joussef became prince of Libanus, Beschir was only in his seventh year. The Emir perceiving in him a more than ordinary share of talent, had him brought up with care, and provided him with all the advantages which his position and future prospects required. In 1784, he accompanied his patron in the expedition against the sanguinary Djezzar, pacha of Acre. He was then only twenty-one years of

of age, and narrowly escaped with his life from the town of Ryde, of which his own party had just got possession. The Druses were compelled to evacuate the town, and the young Beschir, finding himself surrounded by the enemy, rode at full gallop towards a wall, from which he leaped while the balls were whizzing around him. He received no injury, but the horse was killed. On his return to Libanus, he was employed by Joussef in the financial department of the government. Ambition soon began to take possession of his mind. He ingratiated himself with the principal families, and particularly gained the goodwill of Sheik Beschir, of the powerful family of Kansar. Joussef finding himself unable to resist the power of Djezzar, resigned in favour of Beschir. He wished to keep the ruling power in his own immediate family, and hoped, perhaps, to be able to resume it at some more convenient opportunity. Nor was his hope altogether vain. The avaricious pacha was tempted by a large sum of money to invest him once more with the symbol of authority, but after a short tenure he was again deposed, when his youthful competitor bid a still larger sum. But again—for what will not a lust of power lead men to perpetrate?—he returned to the vile work of corruption, and again was defeated by means more execrable than even he himself purposed to employ.

Beschir promised 4000 pieces, if Joussef were put to death; and the unfortunate emir soon made his appearance for the last time in public. He was hung, together with his minister, Gandour Koury, over the principal gate of Acre. Djezzar affected to disclaim the deed. It was too atrocious even for him. The officer through whom the business was transacted, was drowned by the orders of his ungrateful master, together with all his family; and his property, which was considerable, was added to the blood-money which Djezzar had already received. But the monster wished for more, and Beschir was cast into prison until he should pay a heavy ransom. He was indebted for his liberation from a captivity of twenty months, to the insinuating address of a lady who took a special interest in his welfare, and who tried her powers of fascination on the avaricious pacha. When restored to liberty, he determined to regain his influence in the mountains; and it is not necessary for us here to enter into the full detail of the various measures by which he gained his end. He

employed with little scruple or hesitation the ordinary means employed in his time and country. Bribery, intimidation, deception, were all had recourse to. Several of his own immediate relatives were strangled, or for ever deprived of sight, for having opposed, or refused to aid, his advancement. His power was considerably strengthened by his marriage with the widow of a Turkish prince, whom he had himself caused to be slain a few years before. She brought him an immense fortune. In 1804, when Bonaparte laid siege to Acre, he requested Beschir to espouse his cause, and assist him in gaining possession of the town. But the emir, like a man of prudence, replied, that however well disposed he might be, he could not think of joining the French army until it had possession of Acre. Bonaparte pretended to be satisfied with his apology, and made him a present of a handsome musket. The events of his later years we shall give in the words of the author of the "*Modern Syrians.*" Our notice would become a book, were we to describe with any minuteness the events in which Beschir has been engaged for more than fifty years :

"Every one of the seven nobles who govern the corresponding number of districts in the mountains of the Druses, may be compared to what the chiefs of a Highland clan were at the beginning of the last century, with a loose allegiance to the sovereign, and arbitrary power over the vassals. Two of these nobles or emirs, (Reslen and Belemma). The other five, (Djonbelat, Abou-Neked, Amad, Talhook, and Abd-el-Malek), are denominated Sheiks, which literally means elder. The Prince of Mount Lebanon occupied a middle station, between these chiefs and the Turkish government. The subordinate houses were generally in a state of feud with each other, and divided into two factions—the Djonbelat and the Yesbeky. In days of yore, when the preponderance of the Druses over the Christian population was absolute, the immigration of Christians for the cultivation of land was much encouraged. The Christians took to the plough and reaping-hook : the Druses stuck to the sword. While the Christians were fruitful and increasing their numbers, the increase of the Druses was prevented by their deadly feuds. Hence we see, that now in all the Druse Mokettas, except Shouf, the Christians form the majority. This in itself was an immense revolution, which was completed by the old Emir Beschir. This crafty man forsook Islamism, turned Maronite, and persuaded the Emirs of Meten (the house of Belemma), with whom alone the Shehabs intermarry, also to embrace Christianity, and by his talents and position formed a party which completely overthrown the Druse power.

"His great opponent—I might almost say his rival—was the Sheik Beshir Djonbelat, the wealthiest of the Druses. Burkhardt, who visited the Druse country in 1811, speaks of him thus :—'The Djonbelat now carry every thing with a high hand. Their chief, El Sheik Beshir, is the richest and shrewdest man in the mountain. Besides his personal property, which is very considerable, no affair of consequence is concluded without his interest being courted, and duly paid for. His annual income amounts to about two thousand purses, or fifty thousand pounds sterling. The whole province of Shouf is under his command, and he is in partnership with almost all the Druses who have landed property there. The greater part of the district of Djesin is his own property, and he permits no one to obtain property there, while he increases his own estates yearly, and thus continually augments his power. The Emir Beshir can do nothing important without the consent of the Sheik Beshir, with whom he is obliged to share all the contributions which he extorts from the mountaineers.' To counteract this influence, the Emir Beshir sought to develop the power of the Maronites, and had a secret understanding with the Pacha of Acre, in order to get the Djonbelat crushed at the first convenient opportunity. The Sheik Beshir Djonbelat, seeing the position to which the ascendancy of the Emir was likely to reduce his house and his nation, raised the standard of rebellion, was defeated, fled to Hauran, and was subsequently beheaded at Acre. A large proportion of his land was seized by the Emir Beshir, his house at Mokhtara was pulled down, and the marbles that shone in its splendid halls now adorn the palace of the Emir of Betedein. The blow dealt by him broke the back of the Druse power, but the limbs were spared, and the houses of Talhook and Abd-el-Malek, were conciliated. A numerous family of Shouf, called Hamady, who lived in Bahleen, were made sheiks of that district, and affairs went pretty smoothly on until the Egyptian invasion. The Emir Beshir declared for Mehemet Ali, the Druses for the Sultan; and after the battle of Homs and Beilan, several Druse chiefs were exiled to Egypt. The expulsion of Ibrahim Pacha from Syria, in 1840, enabled those exiled Druse Sheiks to return to their homes. Naman, Said, and Ismael Djonbelat, on the death of their father, the late Sheik Beshir Djonbelat, wandered about Turkey, and sometimes lived at Saloniki, sometimes at Constantinople, Broussa, and Smyrna, on an allowance from the Porte, which was gradually diminished, and at last settled in Egypt.

Meheмет Ali, on the news of the success of the British fleet, and the defection of the Emir Beshir, as a desperate venture, invested Sheik Naman, Djonbelat, Sheik Nassif Abou-Neked, and Sheik Hattar Amad, with the dignity of Egyptian Beys, and said, that whoever distinguished himself most in serving his cause should be made prince of the mountain. The Druse Sheiks, too happy to get an opportunity of returning to Syria, made those usual professions

of attachment in which Orientals deal so largely, and were immediately sent across the Desert. However, on arriving at Jaffa, finding that Ibrahim had been completely defeated, they swam with the stream, and paid their respects to the new Emir Beshir. This man, endowed with considerable personal courage, was, on the other hand, full of pride and prejudice, and although characterised by a degree of honesty and uprightness, rare in the East, he was altogether destitute of the tact essential to a governor, whose duties are rather civil than military. Beshir received them so badly, that they were thoroughly disgusted. This was a most indiscreet proceeding; for the influential position they occupied, aided by the discipline and secrecy which binds the Druse nation, demanded, at the least, considerable delicacy of management. When the Emir Beshir returned to Mount Lebanon, after the termination of the campaign, and the evacuation of Syria by Ibrahim Pacha, he found that he had no party whatever. The Druse Sheiks were more than consoled for the coolness of their prince, by the enthusiastic reception they met from their own nation. In all the Druse districts the authority of the Emir Beshir was disregarded, and replaced by that of the Sheiks. One would suppose that being a Maronite by religion, he might have made up for it by influence in the Maronite districts of the North. But the Sheiks there were equally anxious to raise themselves, and abase the house of Shehab, while the principal rival of the Emir Beshir was the Maronite Patriarch, whom the bishops were anxious to bring forward, not only as *spiritual*, but as *temporal* Pope of Mount Lebanon. This pretension was resisted by the Druse chiefs as an invasion of their prerogatives. Hence the bloody feud between these two nations, which, fermented by the Porte, ended in the subjugation of both."—*Modern Syrians*, p. 102.

The length of this extract will be pardoned for the important information it contains. It imparts to us the secret of these disturbances which have been agitating the Libanus for the last three years, and must inevitably end in the utter prostration of one of the contending parties. We were willing to hope that the numbers of the Maronites,\* and the strength which their party must receive from the leadership of the Emir, and the accessions which he brought in his own family, would have inclined the balance in their favour; but on the side of the Druses there were valour, discipline, secrecy of council, and, above all, unanimity of purpose. Perhaps, we should have included, as the most important item in the enumeration, the length of

\* The "Notice Historique" estimates the Maronites, as we have before stated, at 432,500; the Druses, at 18,000. Gerambe gives their relative numbers to be: Maronites, 200,000; Druses, 100,000. We cannot reconcile this discrepancy.



their purses.\* After a desperate conflict of several months, marked by massacre, pillage, and conflagration, the usual consequences of civil strife, and when both parties were weakened to the satisfaction of the Turkish government, it was thought advisable to terminate the war between them. This cessation was owing, in a great measure, to the kind influence of the British consul at Beyrout, who, at the risk of his life, penetrated into the defiles which were the scene of conflict, and succeeded in obtaining a temporary truce previous to the settlement of their differences. A congress was appointed to be held at Beyrout. Before it was held, however, the Druses kept their hands in practice by burning 4000 houses, killing 700 of the Maronites, and taking away with them immense booty, not only of money and arms, but even clothes and furniture. It is no wonder, therefore, that when the Seraskier Mustapha Pacha landed at Beyrout, as imperial commissioner from the capital, to arrange the differences between them, they should be inspired with the most cheering hopes. They knew with whom they had to deal, and that when under any civilized government, they would be visited with the severest vengeance, they calculated with confidence on obtaining from the commissioner not merely forgiveness, but reward. It was but natural, too, that the hearts of the poor Maronites should be stricken with dismay.

"In my evening walks," says the author of the *Modern Syrians*, "might be seen now and then some bishop or abbot, pale and haggard, riding into town on his sorry mule, accompanied by some half-starved lay-brother as a servant; while ever and anon on the road to the pines which led to the Druse country, one met a sheik surrounded by his men joyfully singing their war song. The Christians flitter about the streets, long-visaged and poverty-struck. The Shieks paid their way 'like gentlemen.' Hamoud Aboo Noked, when he went to the vizier, gave the men who brought in coffee, a backshish of 500 piastres. In fact, the Christians being squeezed, and the Druses un-squeezed, no doubt existed of the pending suits being terminated according to the most approved rules of Turkish justice. In aid of the long purses of the Druses came the force of their nationality, their perfect union, fathomless cunning, and profound secrecy. No one knew what passed at their meetings,

\* Another great advantage which the Druses had over their rivals consisted in the possession of arms. When the troops of Mehemet Ali invaded Syria, the Maronites, with the advice of their patriarch, surrendered their arms to the Egyptian General. The Druses, more obstinate, or less confiding, refused to do so. The issue proved that they were right, and in the day of conflict they had, of course, considerably the advantage.



while the councils of the Christians became the talk of the whole town, almost before the members had risen from their seats. Mustapha Pacha extracted a large bribe from the Druses, deposed the Emir Beshir, and appointed Omar Pacha, an Austrian renegade, in his place. The Emir was then shipped off for Constantinople." —Page 127.

After the departure of Emir Beshir, or rather his transportation, for such it really was, and notwithstanding the attempt made to restore tranquillity, the Lebanon continued in a disturbed and unsatisfactory condition. During the negotiations relative to the settlement of the Syrian question, the restoration of the Shehab family to the principality of Lebanon formed a prominent and an important topic of discussion. It was opposed by the Porte on the grounds, that Emir Beshir and the Shehab family, being Maronites, could not obtain the full confidence of the Turkish government. If a war broke out between it and any Christian state, it was thought that a Christian prince of Lebanon would be likely to give his co-religionists a free access to these mountain-strongholds, which must ever be the key of Syria. On the other hand, the four European powers were dissatisfied with the manner in which this province had been hitherto governed. In the autumn of 1842, the Druses were goaded into rebellion by the bigotry, tyranny, and bad faith of Mustapha Pacha, who was in consequence recalled, and Assad Pacha, a man of good character, appointed in his stead. The rebellion was quelled only by some vigorous and rapid movements of the Albanian troops. A strong force was conveyed by night from Beyrout to Sidon in steamers sent from Constantinople for the purpose, and fell upon their rear, while Omar Pacha sallied from Betedein where he was besieged, attacked and destroyed Mohtara, the family-seat of the Djonbelats. The Turkish government seeing the unsatisfactory condition of the existing arrangements, consented to a new settlement; and, without restoring Beshir, permitted the Maronites to be governed by a ruler of their own nation; and the Druses, also, to have a similar privilege. The two chiefs were to be subject to the Mushir, or governor, of the now-united Pashalics of Tripoli and Sidon, who has fixed his residence at Beyrout.

The disordered state of Syria, after this evacuation by the troops of Ibrahim, and before the authority of the Porte was fully recognized, was not to be corrected in a day.

The entire country was overrun by the Albanian and Turkish soldiery. In the hour of battle they proved cowards, but, as is always the case, they proved themselves ruffians of the darkest dye towards the helpless natives of the country, and the Christian population had no claim on the forbearance of fanatical miscreants who thought it an act of virtue to harass and insult them.

The animosity of the Druses and Maronites, which had been inflamed by civil war and by excesses, the memory of which was still fresh, and the monuments of which were each day before their eyes, has not been yet allayed, and it is only a few days since we saw by the papers, that it was determined to disarm the entire Christian population, and place them henceforward under the authority of the Druses. Thus matters stand at the present moment. What time may yet produce, or what may be their future condition, only the eye of prophecy would be able to determine. The following extract from the "*Modern Syrians*" will illustrate the state of the Lebanon during the contest, and introduce us to some of the individuals whom we have already alluded to in this notice. It is sad to find, that men's evil passions should disfigure what God made so fair and beautiful, and leave their revolting impression on the loveliest scenery of the earth! Dair-el-Kamar is one of the principal towns of the mountain district, and only a very short distance from Betedein, the residence of Emir Beshir. The population is principally Maronite.

"We now ascended the mountains which led directly to Dair-el-Kamar. Wearily did we toil up another pass, and after emerging from a fig-plantation, we were rewarded with a glorious view of the Mediterranean. The pleasure which one derives from the expanse of azure seen from the heights of Lebanon, if the atmosphere be clear, is so *real*, that I involuntarily drew up, and my heart would have dilated, had not a dark object caused me quickly to turn about my head and look in the opposite direction. Slowly and majestically rose a thick black column of smoke, to a height far above all surrounding objects, from two considerable villages on the slope of the opposite mountains of Shouf. All my life a peaceable citizen, I saw for the first time the horrors of warfare. Trotting a short way further on, my eyes caught Dair-el-Kamar; but what a picture of desolation it presented, compared with the peaceful and prosperous aspect under which I had seen it a month before! The whole of the lower part of the town, next the Beyrout road, was black, ruinous, and roofless, and a constant fire of musketry was kept up between the parapet of the palace and the upper parts of the town,

which were occupied by the Druses. We now entered the town, and were received by the Druses with yells of exultation on their sad victory, and the wildest demonstrations of welcome; but the whole scene and its component objects, were of too horrible a character to admit of making any response which could be interpreted into sympathy with their feelings: their cheers and yells were received in solemn silence. Two men in the middle of the road executed a sort of a Highland fling, and a couple of human heads on the points of pikes were stuck in the wall, eighteen or twenty heads were piled up in a corner, and the horned\* and veiled women executed the singular trill, which is considered an incitement to bravery. Just at this moment a shot from the Christians struck a great brawny Druse, who rolled down his full length, and several persons cried out, advising the consul-general to keep within the cover of the houses. We turned back a few yards, and at the request of the *cadi* entered a house, which was in a few minutes thronged with visitors. Next we sat a Christian emir, from the Metten, who was in 'a peculiar position.' Never anticipating the breaking out of civil war, he had come to Dair-el-Kamar, to arrange with the Emir Beshir the preliminaries of a treaty of marriage with his daughter, or niece; and thus found himself in the midst of the Druses, who detained him in polite arrest, out of deference to his rank. Cheers and vociferations outside drew us out to the terrace, and I beheld Sheik Nassif Abou Noked, the commander-in-chief of the Druses, coming down to us. Nothing could exceed the savage enthusiasm with which the people received him. It was said, that he and his men had that morning killed eighty Christians. Sheik Naman Djonbelat, who during all these scenes had remained passive at his own residence, at Mokhtara, followed in about half an hour. The contrast which the demeanour of these men presented did not escape me. Sheik Nassif, the head of the Druse war party, was dressed in Egyptian clothes, of a brown colour, very fully embroidered with black braid, and red shoes. Middle sized, well proportioned, aged about forty. He was in the prime of activity, and his step was remarkably light and springy. Sheik Naman Djonbelat, small in stature, refined in features, but oblique in vision, age about eight-and-twenty, was dressed in dark-green clothes, and yellow shoes. The peace-loving Naman was agitated; a cambric handkerchief, bordered with gold, which he held in his hand, was in perpetual motion from his excitement. This was certainly a critical juncture for him; as he could not foresee whether death, exile, or confiscation, or peaceable enjoyment of his large property, would be the upshot of these affairs—a severe trial, it must be admitted, for the nerves of any man. With his usual tact,

\* The females of the Lebanon, both Maronite and Druse, wear a singular ornament projecting from the summit of the head. It is generally of silver, and sometimes near twenty inches in length. It has the appearance of a horn growing out of the head.

he called out, 'Where is Sheik Nassif?' and on perceiving him, they kissed each other on both cheeks.

"After a short parley, the Pacha and the Sheiks agreed to the proposal of the British consul-general, that a flag of truce should be rigged out, and sent to the Emir Beshir, with a letter. Accordingly a Turkish trumpeter was entrusted with the flag and letter. He mounted his horse, and emerging from the Druse quarter crossed the Meidan. In half an hour a most pacific answer was received, and we mounted our horses. At the verge of the Meidan lay the dead body of the Druse that we had seen killed. He lay on his back; the countenance showed he had died in pain; his turban was rolled off his head, a long tuft of hair streamed from the crown of his scalp, and more than an hour's exposure to the sun had swelled up his body to an immense size. We now passed through what had been the bazaar. The horses picked a road through a grey mineral dust, like dirty snow; for the action of the heat had completely pulverized the stone. The dust was mixed with charcoal, and my horse, as he occasionally put his foot into this mass, started as if he had trodden on quick-lime. All around was blackness and ruin, where, but a month before, I had seen rows of well-furnished shops, and many groups of buyers and sellers. In the great square, or market-place, not a soul was to be seen. In a narrow street abutting in it, was a barricade of large stones, breast-high; behind which was a picquet of half a dozen men. The gate of the Seraglio being barricaded inside and outside, we effected our entrance by a postern door, and the scene which the court-yard presented baffles all description. Three-fourths of the Christian families had taken refuge here, and in the neighbouring convent; so that three thousand men, women, children, horses, and mules, were all crammed together. We now ascended a long narrow staircase, to the reception room of Emir Beshir, an apartment of noble proportions, but plainly furnished, with a mat and a divan of red cloth running round the walls. The Emir sat at the side. He was dressed in a crimson suit, and the fold of his turban was a cashmere shawl of the finest texture. His *nishan*, or decoration, hung from his neck, and a handsome diamond-hilted dagger was stuck in his girdle. His greeting was cordial, and, far from being dejected, he appeared to possess a degree of equanimity scarcely to be looked for under such melancholy circumstances. After reposing an hour or so, I descended with some of the officers to look about me. I met many of my acquaintances, but scarcely recognized them. This was the fourth day since the first attack, and the three dreadful vigils had rendered pale, hollow-eyed, and hollow-cheeked, men whom I had seen a few days before with ruddy mountain complexions. Others I had known had been killed or wounded. Ibrahim, the principal merchant of the town, was one of the first to relate his doleful tale. I, myself, had known this man living in comparative affluence, living in a handsome new-built house, and surrounded with a nume-

rous family and servants. He had lent sums at interest in various parts of Lebanon. Thus his debts have been wiped out with a vengeance. To get him out of the house, the Druse caused some one to say that his son Halil was lying wounded at the bake-house: he proceeded thither, but found this was a pretext. When he returned home, he found his house plundered, his brother lying dead, and in the same evening his house was burnt. At sunset we all dined with the Emir Beshir, in the Arab style; that is to say, we all squatted down to a large circular tray, and ate with our fingers of sundry preparations of mutton, fowl, and vegetables. Next morning, as early as seven o'clock, his highness was taking his walk in the verandah, and chatting with the attendants. This would have been a perilous promenade twenty-four hours sooner. To give an idea of the danger in which the emir had been, I may mention, that eighteen bullet marks were perceptible on the end wall of the Ckaa, or divan of reception. The superior of the Maronites having presented his respects to the consul-general, the latter gentleman proceeded to the convent of this sect, which is a tolerably spacious building adjoining the Seraglio, and, along with another massive keep, formed the stronghold of the Christians. We passed down through a cut-throat sort of staircase, into the passage between these two buildings, protected by the only bazaar in the town left unburnt by the Druses, and on the other by the smoking terraces of the ground, between the town and the bottom of the ravine. Eighty Christian bodies had been buried hurriedly in these terraces, during the three days previous; and I had not emerged two yards from the postern before I was compelled to put my handkerchief to my nose. The olfactory and visual nerves were put to an equally severe test on entering the convent; for here were congregated, or crammed, I should rather say, the poor and the wounded. In the Seraglio it was painful to see families I had known living in comfortable houses, stowed away into little rooms; but here were dozens of families dwelling in the open court-yard and passages of the convent. Women quarrelling about the right to sleep upon a piece of pavement, or to sit on a step, and the screams of the children mingled with the cries of the wounded.

A truce having been effected through Eyoub Pacha and the British consul-general, many of the Christians visited their houses on this evening, and we were also enabled to move about the town. Our first visit was paid to a family that, having barricaded their doors, defended themselves with the greatest bravery during the three days, and killed about forty Druses. The barricades not having been yet removed, we were admitted by one of those secret passages, in the proper construction of which consists the great art of an Oriental architect. Having first scrambled on the top of an outhouse, we entered a hole in the wall, about three feet square, and thus gained, after various ascents, turnings, and windings, the interior of the house: the last door we passed through was, when

viewed from the room, in the guise of a cupboard regularly furnished with shelves. The house formed two sides of a court-yard, paved with marble, and adorned with a fountain, which had proved of signal utility in the hour of need; since, but for the water, they must have surrendered at discretion. A pleasing variety of evergreens covered the other two sides of the court-yard, formed by a high wall, pierced by doors which had been broken open; but so vigorously had the family kept up the fire from the windows, which served as embrasures, that the Druses were obliged to give up the attempt after several attacks. The youngest son, a fine intelligent boy, of twelve or thirteen years of age, had been at first exempted from service, and placed among the women, but he slung on a cartridge-box, seized a musket, and kept up a brisk fire to the last. The old lady of the house, who still retained traces of considerable beauty, far from being shaken by such a severe trial, was full of spirits and determination, and far from alluding to the extreme danger in which they had been placed, she only complained of the harassing watches which they had been obliged to keep day and night. But I have said enough. Such was Dair-el-Kamar in October, 1841."

*Modern Syrians*, p. 115.

From such scenes as these may God in his mercy preserve our country! What political improvements could recompense a nation for such a dread and fearful visitation, as that which has been just described, and which took place among our own fellow-christians, at the very time perhaps that we ourselves were whiling away the days of our existence, as if pain, and sorrow, and calamity, were nowhere upon the earth? It is well to talk of the glorious pomp and circumstance of war while it is at a distance from us, and while we see only its dazzling mimicry; but when the dread and horrible calamities which ever follow in its train are displayed before us, and when we contemplate the possibility of these being brought home to our own doors, and bursting upon the heads of those most dear to us, the very contemplation of such a contingency makes our blood run cold. The following extract, describing the customs, religious and social, of the Druses, we have been obliged to abridge from the interesting pages before us:—

"The Druses are divided into two classes—the Akkals and the Djahils. Akkal means wise, and Djahil means ignorant; that is to say, the former are the individuals initiated in the mysteries of the Druse religion, the latter are uninitiated. This distinction is altogether irrespective of temporal rank or wealth;



for every Druse, whether male or female, may pass from the uninitiated to the initiated state, on making certain declarations, and renouncing the indulgences permitted to the Djahils. It is not uncommon to see a drunken, lying Djahil, become all at once an abstemious and veracious Akkal. The Djahils, as might be expected, form the great majority of the nation. No religious duties are incumbent on the Djahil, but he knows the leading features of the religion, such as the transmigration of souls, &c. The secret signs of recognition are known to the Djahil as well as to the Akkal. He eats, drinks, and dresses as he pleases. The Akkals are the depositories of the mysteries of religion. They wear a round white untwisted turban, and are not allowed to dress in embroidered or fanciful apparel; but when in Damascus or Beyrout they may do so, that they may not be distinguished from the Moslems. The Akkal neither smokes tobacco, nor drinks wine or spirits, nor does he eat with, nor share in the festivities of, the Djahils. Naman Djonbelat, when he became an Akkal, procured permission to continue to smoke tobacco; but such dispensations are rare. The Akkal never pronounces an obscene word, nor does he swear on any account, or tell a falsehood. Profound respect and precedence is entertained and accorded to them, but if they do not adhere to their vows, they are excommunicated and become outcasts. The hour of meeting for religious purposes is on Friday evening, immediately after dusk. The temples are generally structures without ornament, and invariably built in secluded situations. A wooden railing separates the male from the female Akkals. The proceedings commence with a conversation on politics. All news is communicated with the strictest regard to truth. They signalize such and such an individual, as an enemy to their nation. Another individual, oppressed by government, is recommended to protection and support. A third, being poor, is assisted by the collection of money. They then read extracts from the books of their religion, and sing their warlike hymn. They then eat some food, such as figs, raisins, &c., at the expense of the endowment. The company then disperses, and only the highest Akkals remain, who concert the measures to be taken in consequence of the news that has been communicated. Other news of a still more private nature, may then be communicated without reserve; and when profound secrecy is required, they appoint a committee of three. In every case, certain heads of the six families in hereditary possession of Mokettas, even though Djahils, are parties to political measures. The greatest crime that a Druse can commit, is to reveal a national secret. Besides the bonds of blood and religion—to say nothing of habits of secretiveness acquired from infancy—there is also the fear of punishment, as a traitor would, on discovery, be hacked to pieces. When a Druse, in a strange place, wishes to discover a co-religionist, he says, 'Do the peasants in your country sow the seed of



the hleledge?' A stranger says, 'No,' but a Druse answers, 'Sown in the hearts of the faithful.' The Druse women are all taught reading and writing, which is remarkable, when we consider the abasement and ignorance of both Moslem and Christian females in Syria. There can be very little doubt that incest has been, for many years, prevalent among them, though it is said to have become less frequent than it was. No stranger ever sees the face of a Druse female, as they appear to me to be more carefully veiled than even Moslem women. Unlike other Eastern nations, a plurality of wives is forbidden."—Page 88.

The truth seems to be, from a comparison of all the accounts we have seen, that though the origin of the Druse religion may ostensibly date from the apostles of the Caliph Hakem, it really is very little better than a remnant of the old paganism, which even before the Christian era may have been practised in these mountains, and which neither Christian nor Moslem have been able to extirpate. The Moslem himself disdains any connexion, and the Druse is a Christian with the Christians, and a Mahometan with the Mahometans, whenever, and as long soever, as it suits his purposes. Some practices he may have adopted from the people by whom he is surrounded, as convenience or habits of imitation may lead him to do; but it is probable that in all his leading social, religious, and political principles, he has continued unaltered, and what he was three thousand years ago, such he is at the present day.

Besides the patriarch of the Maronites, there is also residing in the mountains another prelate, who, under the title of delegate apostolic of the Lebanon, exercises jurisdiction over those who follow the Latin rite, and is the representative of the Holy See for all the oriental Christians who follow the rites of their respective nations and are in communion with Rome. Dr. Fazio filled that office some years since, when the troops of Ibrahim Pacha got possession of Syria. As the Christian population are exempted from military service, many of the Druses affected conversion, and sought baptism at the hands of the Latin missionaries, to share in this immunity. Ibrahim sought to prevent conversion under any circumstances, under the pretext of this abuse, and commanded the Emir Beshir to use his influence to that effect with the Maronite and the Latin prelates. Dr. Fazio wrote an able and zealous vindication of his conduct to the emir, and while

he reprobated the use that had been made of the Christian ordinances, asserted his right to receive into the bosom of the church the repenting or converted sinner, whoever he may chance to be. It was almost the last act of his ministry, for he died in 1838; and the high and important office which he exercised, is now efficiently filled by Dr. Villardel. Besides the Latin population, there are within his vicariate eight houses of the religious orders—two of the Lazarists, two of the Jesuits, two of the Capuchins, one of the Carmelites, and one of the Franciscans. These convents, as well as many more of the Syrian, Melkite, and Armenian rites, have been erected on ground voluntarily ceded by the Maronites for the purpose.

The three rites just now mentioned have each a patriarch residing in the Libanus, who exercises authority over them. Those who follow these rites are not embodied into distinct and separately existing nations, like the Maronites and Druses, but are scattered in the towns and villages of the country. They have been indebted for this establishment to the kind friendship of the Maronites, whose assistance was never denied to their brethren and fellow-christians. Until the occupation of Syria by Mehemet Ali, they were not allowed to fix themselves out of the territory of the Libanus, but under his sway they were released from their painful and degrading servitude. This enlightened and liberal policy of the new government, permitted them to remove and fix themselves where they thought proper, and gave them the most perfect toleration as far as regarded the erection of churches and the celebration of public worship. In those places where they had no house for the performance of divine service, the Maronite church was always at their disposal. The hopes which the Christian churches of the Levant entertained from the liberality of the Egyptian pacha, have unfortunately been nipped in their first blossoming. Blood and rapine have, as we have just now seen, desolated their dwelling-places and shed their ravages over the sanctuaries of religion; and they have been again subjected to the withering influence of a tyranny the most destructive of social prospects that God in his justice or his vengeance has ever permitted to crush a nation's welfare. It was so in its best days; but in these the last stage (if it be the last stage) of its decrepitude and corruption, the effete and worn-out government of the Porte has become a thing

utterly contemptible. The secession of France from the other European powers on the Syrian question, was an evil to be deplored, above all others, by the poor Christians of that country. They always looked up to the French nation as their protector, their defender, their trust in the time of need; they had become almost identified in name with the principal foreigners of the west; but in the hour of need, when one stroke of the pen would have secured them peace and prosperity and independence, their protector was found to be as powerless as themselves, and the Christians were abandoned once more to the barbarity of the Turks—the hereditary enemies of their race, their country, and their creed. It was a great mistake, that the European powers who had Syria at their command, instead of making it once more the victim of Turkish misrule, did not make it a Christian nation and a Christian people. It is easy to perceive that the spirit of chivalry has departed, that princes and rulers are animated with but a little of that noble and generous ardour which once stirred the breasts of kings, when the warriors of Christendom started with eagerness to their steeds, to avenge the insulted majesty of this land where the Man-God lived and died. Now, alas! the money-changers have again got possession of the temple. The destinies of nations and peoples have become a mere thing of pounds, shillings, and pence, to be weighed in the scales with as much worldliness and cupidity, as if there was question only of a light sovereign or a counterfeit Napoleon, and to be decided upon by the Jews and capitalists of London and Paris and Vienna. If it were not so, the consecrated land of Syria, and the holy plains of Palestine, would not have been given over to those who have profaned the sanctuary for more than a thousand years, who have erected in the holy place the abomination of desolation; the crescent would not gleam over the towers of Nazareth, nor would the insolent tread of the Turkish soldier pollute the cave of Bethlehem or the hill of Calvary. We fear that the Christian powers of Europe have been criminally and shamefully deficient in the reverence that they owed to the birth-place and sanctuary of their religion. Let us hope that God may yet honour the land he loved, that he may yet smile upon its hills, and look with complacency upon the promised dwelling-places of his people, where oft his voice was heard communing with men.

Then shall the desert bloom like the rose, and the glory of Libanus shall not have departed for ever.

Two other short extracts we cannot withhold from our readers, and with them we must conclude a notice which has already extended beyond its intended limits. One contains a description of the author's visit to a Maronite nunnery.

"On entering the court-yard of Dair-el-Niah, which is one of the most considerable nunneries of the Lebanon, we found it to be a substantial edifice, with grated windows. Access to the cloisters was, of course, not permitted; but we found shade in a cool, lofty, well-constructed recess, in the facade of the buildings. The superior informed us, that the establishment consisted of thirty nuns, and that three priests attended to their spiritual wants. Their seclusion partakes of the character impressed upon it by Oriental manners; for they, during their lives, never cross the threshold of the building. On proceeding to the roof of the convent, we found it to be all on one level; and the priest who accompanied us said, that it was the favourite promenade of the ladies of the establishment. A luncheon, with some of their best wine, was served up to us; and as a great favour we were permitted to have an interview with the ladies. When the appointed time arrived, we were ushered into a small, dingy apartment, and seated with our backs to the light. Opposite us was a grating of wood six feet by four feet high. A foot behind this grating was another; beyond this all was darkness. We were told that several of the nuns were behind; and the conversation began and ended without our being able to discover any thing of the form, features, or dress of the fair recluses."—Page 136.

The other tells us how the wind blows, if we may employ so homely a phrase, with the Protestant missions, which have for some time been established throughout Syria by the English and American societies. The Baptists of the United States are particularly busy in the Lebanon.

"The Syrians have very extraordinary notions of John Bull. They hear from the European Catholics vague and marvellous accounts of the ignorance and distress of the poorer classes in England; and they see at the same time, that the richer classes in England subscribe large sums for the purpose of giving instruction, medical advice, &c., to the poor of Syria; who, if allowance be made for the difference of climate, are infinitely better fed and clothed; and as far as reading, writing, and cyphering go, better instructed than the poor of any manufacturing town in England. I have nothing to say against the agents of this misdirected benevolence. There

are some\* Protestant missionaries in Syria, for whom I entertain the highest respect, but the natives cannot comprehend the scheme. I heard many singular anecdotes of a certain Greek Catholic, whom I shall call on this occasion, Mousa. This individual had inherited a small property from his father, which he first dissipated in riotous hospitality; he then became a bankrupt; lived for a while on the proceeds of his wife's jewels; then sold his house to raise the wind; and, at last, was reduced to the necessity of working a few hours a-day, in order to gain his bread; but this being rather irksome to a man of pleasure, he, one morning, paid me a visit, and announced his intention of becoming Protestant! Mousa had the sharp visage, hollow-eye sockets, and nervous manner of a battered roué. His mantle was of finer cloth than usual; but having seen service, was greasy at the neck; and his body-robe of striped silk was faded and shabby.

"'I have resolved,' said Mousa, 'to become a Protestant, and place myself under British protection.' 'Ha!' said I, with seeming self-gratulation; 'you must admit that the English are a very wealthy and respectable nation.'

"'Oh yes,' said Mousa, catching at my words, his haggard, desperate countenance, kindling with hope and avidity; 'no nation like the English; their rajahs are like princes, and their nobles like sultans.'

"'Ay, ay, I thought I understood your motive,' said I, drily.

"'You mistake,' said Mousa, evidently bothered at having let the cat out of the bag; 'my abhorrence and contempt of Popery are sincere. I have not gone to confession for months. I despise the goods of the world.'

"'It does not follow, that because you are a bad Catholic you would make a good Protestant.'

"'Mousa finding that I gave so little encouragement to his religious projects, tried to negotiate the loan of a few hundred piastres, on his bond; but failing in this, bade me a good morning, with sundry philosophic reflections on the vanity of riches, and the duty of submission to the will of God.'—Page 162.

This incident, for which we feel grateful to the author of "The Modern Syrians," whoever he be, illustrates the working of the Protestant missions of Syria. We find that the old story of the Pope weeding his garden and throwing the weeds outside the walls, holds true from the island of Achill to the very walls of Damascus.

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\* And only some.

- ART. III.—1. *Experiments with the Torsion-rod for determining the Mean Density of the Earth, forming Vol. XIV. of the Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society.* By FRANCIS BAILY, ESQ. London: 1843.
2. *Address to the Royal Astronomical Society, delivered February 10, 1843, on the delivery of the Gold Medal to Mr. Baily.* By LORD WROTTESEY, PRESIDENT. (From the Fifth Volume of the Monthly Notices of the Society.)
3. *Monthly Notice of the Royal Astronomical Society for November, 1844, containing a Memoir of Francis Baily.* By SIR JOHN HERSCHEL.

FRANCIS Baily, the author of the first work on our list, died August 30, 1844, in his seventy-first year. The reputation which he leaves behind him is of so peculiar a character, that it will probably survive with his writings in an unusual manner. These writings will last as long as the astronomy of our century is necessary to those which follow: but a book may long outlive the personal fame of its author, and the name of the latter may become, for all practical purposes, nothing more than a constituent part of the title of the former. It will not be so with Baily: his contemporaries will take care that a character so unique shall not be suffered to dwindle into a name. Will take care, did we say? the list at the head of our article will show that they did not suffer three months to elapse without successfully fixing upon one of the most competent men in existence, the duty of handing down the memory of his friend, before a single feature of it had been obliterated. At a special meeting of the Astronomical Society, held November 8, 1844, Sir John Herschel read a memoir which he had prepared at the request of the Council, to a crowded meeting of the Fellows and their friends; a memoir in which the simple statement of what the deceased President had done for astronomy, put together with rigorous accuracy, conveyed to the hearers an impression, that, well as they knew the several details to which they were listening, they had never had a proper idea of the magnitude of the sum total, till it was thus brought before them.

Mr. Baily started in life, about 1801, as a stock-broker, at the age of 27, having abandoned the business to which he was brought up, and having travelled over a considerable



part of the United States of America. His father was a banker at Newbury in Berkshire; and he had received the ordinary school education of his day, with such training in the elementary branches of science as he could obtain by his own reading. Up to the age of fifty-one he continued in business, and realized a handsome fortune. Had he done nothing else, he would have been remembered on the Stock Exchange as the defender of the rights of its members against an attempted usurpation of the city of London, and as the collector and arranger of the evidence connected with the celebrated fraud of 1814, of which it is said that it would probably not have been brought home to any one, had it not been for his sagacity and admirable method. Here are the elements of one character; and though a stock-broker, who makes a good fortune, and is looked up to by his fellows, and selected by them as the vindicator of their privileges and the defender of their property, may not quite have made out his place in a biographical dictionary, yet it will be admitted, that such private worth as his, added to the preceding qualifications, would have made an example of the honourable discharge of the duties of life, such as men are glad to point out for the imitation of their sons.

But, while toiling in the daily cares of his occupation (and we know that the Stock Exchange was, during the war, a most exciting and engrossing locality), Mr. Baily was occupied partly in creating a reputation of a very different kind, partly in preparing himself to sustain a third and perfectly distinct character, as soon as retirement from business should bring leisure. Having a moderate knowledge of mathematics, of a very accurate and *usable* character, he turned his attention to the commercial subjects of leases, interest, and annuities, particularly those which depend on life contingencies. His works upon these subjects are among the very best: the treatise on life annuities, after it was out of print, was greedily bought at sales for four and five times the price at which it was published: the last copy of the Appendix (a separate pamphlet) which we saw sold, went for a guinea. The collector of rare books may give a high price for nothing but rarity; but actuaries do not indulge themselves in this way for anything short of positive necessities. Had Mr. Baily retired with the



additional character of the first writer of his day on the mathematical subjects connected with his own profession, he would have deserved and obtained an honourable name in literary history: and his biographer, in closing the account of his labours by stating that he enjoyed twenty years of well-earned leisure, would perhaps have made some remark on the absolute necessity of cessation from active pursuits, after so toilsome and varied a career. But now comes the truly extraordinary part of the story. Astronomy had been more or less a favourite study with Mr. Baily through life, and as his other occupations allowed time, he had laid a foundation of solid knowledge. Long before his retirement, he had begun to write on astronomical matters; he had taken a considerable share in the formation\* of the Astronomical Society, and had performed the duties of secretary: he had become known as a most useful astronomer, as the advocate of every improvement, as the introducer of new knowledge from abroad, as the assailant of public institutions which had not kept up with the age, and as a writer on various detached subjects. In his paper read before the Royal Society, fixing the date of the eclipse of Thales, he had shown himself, as early as 1811, fully competent to handle what are generally considered as the most elaborate parts of astronomical computation. After his retirement from business, he enjoyed nearly twenty years of healthful leisure, or rather voluntary occupation of no easy kind. In his attention to the affairs of the Astronomical Society, he was a sort of universal working officer. In his experiments upon the pendulum, in his comparisons of the standards of length, and in the main subject of this article, the Cavendish experiment, he showed himself one of the most skilful and accurate users of instruments of his day, and a philosopher of unwearied patience and love of truth. In his celebrated life of Flamsteed, founded upon an accidental discovery of papers, he proved that, had historical research been the pursuit of his life, he would have obtained a high place among those who are cited for completeness

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\* The late Davies Gilbert once said to the writer of this article, "When I first began to attend the meetings of the Council of the Astronomical Society, I saw a gentleman there whose name I did not know, but who appeared to have such a complete knowledge of practical astronomy, that I said to myself," [Mr. D. G. was then President of the Royal Society], "If Government should ever come to us for advice about the proper person to be appointed Astronomer Royal, I shall know where to look. But to my great surprise I was told shortly afterwards, that this gentleman had been in business all his life, and had just bought a large estate in Hampshire."

of research. In his new edition of the *British Catalogue* of stars, and others, he showed astronomers how to subject every item of detail to a closeness of investigation which his own results pointed out to have been oftener wanted than given. In his edition of ancient catalogues, he exhibited the qualifications of the scholar as far as they were wanted, and did for Ptolemy what no preceding editor had been both scholar enough and astronomer enough to be able to do. In the *Catalogue of the Astronomical Society*, which was superintended by him, he has, says Sir John Herschel, "put the astronomical world in possession of a power which may be said without exaggeration, to have changed the face of sidereal astronomy." We are not writing his life, but only a short preface to the review of one of his numerous labours: we shall not, therefore, proceed further in our enumeration. At his death, he had upon his hands the reconstruction of the standard measure of length, and the superintendence of two large catalogues of stars which the British Association had engaged to publish.

Such is a mere glimpse of the quality and quantity of the labours of Francis Baily. Had it not been for the publication of Sir John Herschel's *Memoir*, we should have been in doubt whether to insert the preceding short account. A rich and hospitable man, of manners which made him beloved by his friends, and whose exertions were unremitted and voluntary, seldom has the results of those exertions undervalued. We might, possibly, while we excused the exaggerations of friendly partiality, have declined to anticipate the office of the historian, and to pronounce how much of the very high opinion of Baily's merits, which is universal throughout the astronomical community in England, was due to himself, and how much to those who valued him as a friend and as a man. But the publication of the *Memoir* above alluded to, frees us from all difficulty: there are the facts and the dates for all who will examine, and an abundance of living witnesses. It contains no exaggerated eulogium, but a distinct account of character, and a true one. This is not the way in which a writer speaks of an object of undue worship:

"To term Mr. Baily a man of brilliant genius or great invention, would in effect be doing him wrong. His talents *were* great, but rather solid and sober than brilliant, and such as seized their subject rather with a tenacious grasp than with a sudden pounce. His mind, though, perhaps, not excursive, was yet always in pro-

gress, and by industry, activity, and using to advantage every ray of light as it broke in upon his path, he often accomplished what is denied to the desultory efforts of more imaginative men. Whatever he knew he knew thoroughly, and enlarged his frontier by continually stepping across the boundary, and making good a new and well-marked line between the cultivation within and the wilderness without. But the frame of his mind, if not colossal, was manly in the largest sense. Far-sighted, clear-judging, and active: true, sterling, and equally unbiassed by partiality and by fear: upright, undeviating, and candid, ardently attached to truth, and deeming no sacrifice too great for its attainment."

A very clear head, great industry, unequalled regularity and order, were the tools which Baily had to use in all that concerned himself alone. With regard to other men, Sir John Herschel cites the following testimony from Mr. Sheepshanks:

"Of his management of our Society it is difficult to speak so as to convey a correct idea. No assumption, no interference with other people, no martinet spirit (which seems almost natural to all good business men), but every thing carried on smoothly and correctly, and without bustle. He hit, better than any chairman I have ever seen, the mean between strictness and laxity, and, while he kept every thing going in its proper channel, he also kept every body in good humour. This natural tact was a great gift, but there was another quality which I never saw in any one but him, and that was, his readiness to give precedence and room to every one who wished to do any thing useful, and his equal readiness to supply every deficiency, and do the work of every body else. He was also the person who never was asleep, and never forgot any thing, and who contrived, by his good humour, hospitality, and good sense, to keep every thing in train."

It seems to us, that if Baily had been educated for astronomy alone, he would have been Delambre in England; had Delambre been in business at the Bourse till the age of fifty, he would have been Baily in France. We shall now proceed to the main intention of this article.

There are few subjects from which more ideas can be drawn than astronomy; there are few books which look more repulsive than those of astronomers; and of all astronomical writings, the driest are those which are found in the transactions of learned societies. Of the first work in our list, part is occupied by the description of certain apparatus, and the mode of making a certain experiment; the rest by pages filled with numerals. How are we, with

such materials, to verify the assertion with which we began this paragraph?

It is characteristic of most of the writings which are worth reading, on most of the subjects which are worth reading about, that they omit all those general considerations which are the first things the uninitiated would look for, and, also, that they avoid describing the multifarious bearings of the several results. These may be properly suggested in other places; common sense tells us that it would be ridiculous to make reflections on the higher uses of science accompany the ordinary, and, as we may call them, work-day writings, in which the steps of its advance are recorded. We are led to these remarks by some observations, in a periodical of no mean note, upon the proceedings of the British Association. One section of this body was occupied by the description of some unimportant new animal, another by the account of some slight difficulty conquered in chemistry. How trifling! how absurd! says the critic: where are the philosophers who can see in their noble pursuit the God whose wisdom it reveals, who can feel the mighty interests of civilization which it encourages and protects? We have none of those men: *our* philosophers are inspecting the skin and feet of some new kind of water-rat, or mixing up acids and alkalies. Such was the import of the observations to which we allude, and which we might pass over, secure of finding the same periodical, before long, destroying its own sophism, and insisting that the parts, however valueless when separately considered, ought to partake of the importance of the whole. But we are compelled to remember that it is not every person who can apply to one given subject a principle of the truth of which he is well assured by his experience of another. Let us, then, change the ground and walk into the courts of law, impressed with the feeling that to its administration we owe life and property, recalling to our recollection the period when brute force ruled the land, and dwelling in thought upon the vast, the inconceivable amount of legal security which is now to be found in the very worst country in Europe, compared with what existed five hundred years ago in the very best. We think of the administrators of this law, the judges, against the integrity of no one of whom does a single man of any party insinuate a suspicion; of the advocates, whose devotion to the cause of their clients is generally believed to be as much a matter

of course as the incorruptibility of the judges, and we anticipate something noble and elevating in the proceedings of men of such character, engaged in a duty of such overwhelming importance. How sadly are we disappointed! The Vice-chancellor is listening to some man whose discourse does not imply that he cares for any one of the great principles, at least he does not allude to any one of them: he is splitting a hair to show that some man unknown, who has some very unimportant landed property, must not be allowed to cut down any timber. The judge in the court of Queen's Bench is as busy, taking notes of what some other man says, who wants to persuade him that Smith, and not Thomson, ought to be the parish-clerk of some place we never heard of. We go away accordingly, forming exactly the same conclusions as to the lawyers which the periodical we spoke of expressed as to the philosophers. The majority of the world will tell us we are wrong, and why: but this same majority does not easily apply its own principle to subjects so much out of its cognizance as matters of science. Here it only knows the great uses, and not the details of operation: it expects to hear about what it knows, and treats, or at least will allow itself to be told to treat, all that is separately uninteresting as necessarily trifling.

Among the theories of natural philosophy, there is none which suggests the great views of which we have spoken with more force than the doctrine of *attraction*. This word, and one other, *matter*, comprise the subjects of what is commonly called physics. Add yet another, *life*, and we have the additional idea which, with the former two, heads all the sciences which are called *natural*.\* The ideas of *space* and *succession* are in a like manner the leaders of the mathematical sciences. Add one more word, *God*, and we have completed the primary terms of *science*, the consideration of the Universe and its First Cause as therein displayed. It is customary to assume, that we possess some knowledge of all but the last, or, at

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\* *Natural* and *physical* are corresponding Latin and Greek words, but usage has given them different meanings. The word *physical* is generally applied to the sciences of *dead matter*, as it is sometimes called, while the word *natural* implies, for instance, both electricity and zoology, both mechanics and anatomy. As to *dead matter*, which is a good term, we have seen it used several times in a medical journal, in complaints of the predominance given to the physical sciences by the British Association, and apparently used in order that the word *dead* might carry with it some meaning of inferiority.

least, that we can attain such knowledge; but a very little reflection will convince any one who has studied, that we know no more of the nature or mode of being of attraction, of matter, etc., than we do of God.

Now, the preceding remarks have this bearing on our subject: we want to call the reader's attention, in the first instance, to the fact, that *matter* and *attraction* are two things as distinct from one another as matter and life, or matter and space. Matter *must* occupy space, but we have no difficulty in distinguishing between the two ideas: attraction always *does* accompany matter, but the two ideas can as easily be kept quite distinct. As far as we can yet see, attraction is a sort of function of matter; had it been as well known to the Greeks as to ourselves, there certainly would have been sects ready to maintain that attraction is the life of matter, just as Aristoxenus maintained that the string of a lyre and its sound stand in the same relation to one another as the body and soul of man.

We say, in modern times, that attraction is a property of matter, or that wherever there is matter, there is attraction. But, to our conceptions, the property is not a necessary one: not only can we imagine matter without attraction, but we know that the idea of the union of the two is only of comparatively recent reception. No one, since the words were used, could imagine matter without space; but matter without attraction was once the universal doctrine.

No theory of the universe could possibly give to matter a perfect tendency to quiescence; nature contradicts, at every turn, that indisposition to change which modern philosophy has shown to belong to matter, independently of the attraction of other matter. The system which was called Aristotelian gives to body something yet more life-like than attraction; a disposition, a tendency, a desire to *seek its place*; a power of knowing not only when it is out of place, but how to return. Around the centre of the earth is the place or region of solidity, that of fluids comes next, afterwards that of air, then that of fire. The descent of heavy bodies and the ascent of flame are equally referred to an instinct of place. This theory is not so senseless as it may seem at first sight: those who know the proper use of an hypothesis will not only commend its ingenuity and admit the frequent truth of its results, but will be



prepared to admit that the modern doctrine of equilibrium really contains it. We do not now dispute that bodies have their places; we only say that we have made the next step in the ascent, and found out something of the conditions which determine those places. The *proprius locus* of any matter is what we now call its *position of equilibrium*: as far as words go, one phrase is not better than the other; but the second has relation to that doctrine of forces and knowledge of the conditions under which equilibrium can subsist, which distinguishes the mechanics of modern from that of ancient time.

When the philosophy of the middle ages, which is called Aristotelian or Ptolemaic, according as the speaker is thinking of its physics and metaphysics, or of its astronomy, but which contains much deterioration of Aristotle, and not a little of Ptolemy—when this philosophy finally gave way under the force with which Newton seconded the blows of Galileo and his contemporaries, the doctrine of the instinct of place became obsolete. Something in lieu of it was essential, for the mere matter of the new philosophy, which was gradually approaching its Newtonian state, was incapable of being made the explanation of any motion. Two doctrines, neither of them wholly unknown in ancient times, made their appearance—that of impulse and that of attraction. With the former we have here nothing to do; its merit as an hypothesis hardly comes up, in our opinion, to that of the instinct of place; its last prominent appearance was as a constituent part of the hypothesis of Des Cartes, with which it fell.

The doctrine of attraction had gained some footing before the time of Newton; that is to say, the mere idea that matter either *possesses the power*, or *is made the instrument*, of drawing other matter towards it. The distinction is a most material one; and without going into the history of the doctrine, we may offer a few remarks as to some points upon which the Cavendish experiment throws light.

We have now arrived at a time when philosophers permit themselves to use liberties with hypotheses which are only justifiable on the supposition that they are so well accustomed to those slippery essences as to be in no danger of making the mistakes which were once the accompaniments of every hypothesis. Perhaps we ought rather to say, that we are just arrived at the time when there are



symptoms of the progress of science beginning to check the liberties alluded to. We now speak particularly of the hypotheses which look as if they were formed merely to give modes of speech, or, at least, which ought to have been so formed, not being justifiable in any other point of view. For instance, the discovery of electricity was allowed to bring into action the notion of a *fluid*—the electric fluid. The abandonment of Franklin's theory required another agent; it was soon found—another fluid, and so the continental philosophers came to the vitreous and resinous fluids. The researches of Galvani and Volta required the notion of a third agent, and, as it seemed, a new one; a third fluid, the galvanic, took its place among first principles. Magnetism had its fluid, and so had caloric and light, and if fifty manifestations of unknown causes had presented themselves, fifty fluids could have been found for them, or made for them. All this did no harm as far as the progress of science was concerned; the philosopher had his phraseology well under command, and though he did not know what he was talking of, he knew how he was talking. There is a species of semi-atheism which refers only what is unknown directly to the power of God, and, by implication, rests in second causes whenever the latter come to have a certain established character. The tides are caused by the sun and moon; the thunder-storm and the earthquake are the immediate operation of the Divine hand: such is really the creed not only of the ignorant, but even of some of those who have charged the physical sciences with an atheistic tendency. But in proportion as knowledge of the Creator and his works is extended, justice will be done to those who have uniformly resisted the false religion which keeps a Creator to appear when wanted, and to be dismissed in case after case, as acquaintance with second causes enables it to find a substitute. It is the privilege of intellect to feel the necessity of a First Cause from a drop of water or a grain of sand; ignorance requires an ocean or a range of mountains. So invidious a comparison would not have been necessary, if it had not happened that the latter, seeing the former to be in the habit of constant reference to second causes, and of inventing names to signify those of which she knew nothing, charged her with making these second causes stand in the place of God. Respectable old Ignorance, whose foibles should always be treated with leniency, except when she proposes to make them victorious

by force of clamour (arms being happily out of the question), never knew that she herself was the only one of the two who was obnoxious to this accusation. That use which she falsely charged her younger sister with making of the word attraction, among others, she herself had really made, time out of mind, of the word matter.

It may be worth while to inform those of our readers who do not know it, that the preceding use of the word *fluid* is really little more in the first instance than a synonyme for *unknown cause*. If that which produces the effects called electrical be matter, there is reason enough to be certain that it has not the tangible properties of a solid or a liquid, but possesses in a high degree the impalpability of an elastic gas. So far there is a justification for the name, for the conditional use of the word: the cause of electric phenomena, fluid-if-material, is called the electric fluid, without meaning to deny that those same phenomena may arise from an alteration of the state of the particles of ordinary matter, either in position or motion, without the introduction of any new material agent. If there be any, as perhaps there are some, who attach a more definite notion to the fluidity spoken of, they resemble the ancient Hindoos and Burmans, who, to account for the eclipses of the sun and moon, invented a dark planet, called it *Rahoo*, and made it come in front of one or the other luminary, as wanted.

The hypothetical terms (and we must in the present part of this article treat attraction as one of them) had to contend with two classes of opponents. Of the first we have just spoken; they were the remains of the sect which had tried to tie up natural philosophy by conditions derived from their own interpretation of the sacred Scriptures. The great shock which the establishment of the Copernican theory gave to this opinion had reduced its followers, by the time Newton appeared, to a small number of names, with very few indeed of any note. But the second class of opponents had a more rational, though not well-founded, ground of objection: they consisted of those who felt the value of the escape from *occult qualities*, and had no desire to return. This same phrase, "occult quality," was the bugbear of a class of inquirers (among whom we must place Des Cartes and Leibnitz), many of whom thought it a due remembrance of the use which was once made of it, to deny the existence of anything occult. If we look into

the writings of any one who uses the phrase, we shall find that the objectionable part of it does not lie in the assumption of the existence of occult qualities, but in that of occult (or hidden) operations, in the convenient use of qualities of which *both the existence and the consequences* are occult, and in the attribution to matter of a variety of qualities which common sense and universal experience make us know to be false. We look for instances into the book of Cornelius Agrippa, "*De Occulta Philosophia*," which in our day may safely be done without danger of raising any devil, except "the little fiend who laughs incessantly." In the chapter headed "*unde proveniant virtutes rerum occultæ*," he places with the loadstone and amber (the causes of the attractive qualities of which no philosopher would have been ashamed to call occult), asbestos for the inextinguishable lamps which he says were made of it, the liver of a chameleon which brings thunder and rain when burnt, the heliotrope which renders the holder invisible, and a host of other things of the same kind. It says something for the caution and love of truth, but not so much for the penetration, of the school of which we are now speaking, that they were afraid of confessing ignorance, of admitting that there was anything to be left hidden, because their predecessors had accounted for false facts by mysterious causes. But the time of which we have spoken was not come, and the use of an hypothesis was not understood.

When Newton brought forward, not the mere doctrine of attraction, as frequently supposed, but the proof that the admission of one particular sort and law of attraction makes all the complicated phenomena of the heavens come under one rule, he took particular care to guard against being supposed to introduce any of the practices of the old philosophy. His method of connecting the phenomena of earth and heaven, which led him to the construction of the "*Principia*," though somewhat obscured by the synthetical form of that work, is yet obvious enough to an attentive reader. He begins with the fact, the most universal and well-known of all facts, that bodies either go of themselves to the earth, or are drawn towards it. The established properties of matter, the consequence of a long train of deduction from terrestrial phenomena, put it out of the question that it should alter its own state; an external cause is, therefore, requisite. Something, then, acts upon

matter at the surface of the earth, and draws it to the earth ; attraction or no attraction, mystery or no mystery, occult quality or no occult quality, such is the fact. The phenomenon is *attraction* (a drawing towards), and is only one of many attractions ; others are that of iron to the magnet, of the particles of solid bodies to one another, and so on. The attraction which is known under the name of weight, was called *gravitation* before the appearance of Newton's theory, and it will often confuse the reader of the early history of Newton's doctrine if he do not remember, that in very many cases the *attraction of gravitation* means weight as felt at the surface of the earth, and not the Newtonian extension of it. There are even dissertations on the cause of gravity anterior to Newton, such as are seen in James Bernouilli's tract "*De Gravitate Ætheris*," published four years before the "*Principia*."

The Newtonian theory may be divided into two parts. First, the force which retains the moon in its orbit is the very same force as that which at the earth's surface we call gravity or weight, diminished in the ratio of the squares of the distances ; and all the heavenly motions are explicable upon, and necessary consequences of, the supposition, that every body, sun, planet, or satellite, is the residence of an attracting force, acting upon all the others, and varying inversely as the square of the distance of the attracted body. Secondly, the manner in which these several attractions are produced arises from this, that *every particle* of every body attracts *every other particle* both of its own and every other body with a force which varies inversely as the square of the distance of the attracting and attracted particle. We are now in the habit of taking these together ; by the time the "*Principia*" had been published twenty years, there was no idea of separating them ; all who considered the subject took both, or neither. But when Newton's work was first sent forth, this joint acceptance or rejection was not so much a matter of course. Huyghens, the first philosopher of note who declared himself convinced by the "*Principia*," while he admitted the former of the positions stated above, craved leave to suspend his opinion about the latter. Indeed, difficult as it may be to put ourselves in the position of those who heard for the first time things with which we are familiar almost from childhood, we can hardly help seeing that the two hypotheses above stated must have appeared very distinct things when

first presented. It was not easy to allow the doctrine of attraction at all ; but, granting that the enormous planetary bodies act upon each other in some wholly inexplicable manner, it was a hard thing to believe that there is not a mote in the sunbeam but produces its slight effect upon the motions of every body in the universe. The mathematician soon conquers the repugnance with which the mind first regards propositions upon the immensely small or the immensely great : his science has given him the habit of adjusting his mental focus to any thing ; but to this day, the doctrine of *universal* attraction has been a stumbling-block to the class of philosophers who write upon physics without making mathematics their preliminary study. One is frightened at the idea of the hair on his head attracting the hair on the heads of the inhabitants of Jupiter or Saturn : perhaps he has a vague notion, that if all the inhabitants of those planets were to lay their heads together, they might succeed in lifting off the wig of one of our judges in open court. Another is amused at the snuff in his snuff-box attracting the snuff in that of a Saturnian. Similar fantasies must have presented themselves in the time of Newton.

If any one had asked the great author of the theory of gravitation to prove his attraction at once, by showing that one ball of lead on this our earth actually could and would move another, he would probably have replied that he had no machinery delicate enough for the experiment, but that he trusted this proof of his system to posterity. He would not have been mistaken, as we shall see ; but he was obliged to content himself with showing how very strongly the motions of an imaginary system, consisting of attracting and attracted bodies, coincide with those of the system to which our observations extend. His successors completed the proof, and the whole of the scientific world was fully convinced of the truth of the doctrine of attraction long before the sagacity of some of its members imagined, not only a mode of making it visible to the senses, but a new and distinct use for the experiment.

We have not, however, exhausted preliminary considerations. We have said that *matter* and *attraction* are the leading ideas of the physical sciences ; but we may, perhaps, see reason to anticipate the time when only the second word (and its correlative, *repulsion*) will stand in this leading position ; and *matter* will be but a convenient name for that which attracts or repels, and suffers attrac-

tion or repulsion. When the Newtonian system was proposed, matter had possession of the field, and attraction was a newly-discovered property to be superadded to those already known. But now, the more we examine the properties of matter, the more we see that attractions and repulsions are the *only* evidences which it offers of its existence. Nobody among philosophic thinkers will now undertake to say that the particles of bodies are in contact. All the presumptions, and no weak ones either, are in favour of their being held in their relative positions by combinations of attractive and repulsive forces exerted by the neighbouring particles. The famous old property of impenetrability seems to consist in the existence of repulsive forces which act with enormous strength when one body approaches another: for no one will now suppose that when a book lies upon a table, any one particle of the book is in actual contact with a particle of the table. The visibility of matter is the consequence of the forces with which bodies repel the rays of light: no one imagines that the rays actually strike the bodies, but that they are warned off as they approach by a force which they cannot resist. And thus we might go through a list of sensible phenomena, and show that in all probability we know nothing of matter except the effects of molecular forces; that is to say, the philosophy of a future generation will probably attach to a *body* the idea of a bundle of attractions and repulsions, infinitely varied in the consequences of a few simple laws. If it so happen, the *matter itself*, the second cause of all this system of actions, will be only a name, an hypothesis, just like the imaginary *fluid*, which is the convenient phrase under which the *cause of electricity* is spoken of. Of this matter, except in the consequences of its attractions or repulsions, it will be no more possible to know anything than it is for the eye to see itself, or for the mind to comprehend the conditions of its own structure.

To descend a little from the dignity of our subject, attraction seems to be treating matter much as the sow did the dog in the fable. She begged for the use of his kennel while she brought forth her young, procrastinated her stay under various excuses until the little pigs had gained strength, and then civilly informed her landlord, that if he were able to match herself and all her progeny he might gain possession of his old quarters, but not other-



wise. If Newton had stated as a probable termination of his views, what we may safely assume as his conjecture on that subject, he would have retarded the entrance of the parent, the doctrine of universal gravitation. The off-spring would have been hunted down before they were fit to meet the rubs of this world. But the safe and cautious mode of proceeding which he adopted—the declaration that it was enough to prove that “gravity exists and acts”—the hint that the cause of the phenomenon was to be investigated, prevented any of the outcry which would certainly have been raised if he had declared that attraction and repulsion are matter, are all we can know ultimately of matter, are the evidences, and the only evidences, of its existence. The day will come, when to speak of the cause of attraction will be to make direct reference to the Cause of the existence of all things.

A Newtonian philosopher might very easily, and with great propriety, have suspended his opinion as to the actual existence of attraction. If any one had put to him the following question, “If two grains of sand, such as they are on the surface of our earth, were placed in free and vacuous space, without being connected by any other matter, do you believe that, as a mere consequence of their existence, those two particles would begin to move each towards the other?” He might have replied, “I suspect it, though I will not absolutely affirm it; but this I do affirm, that the motions of the universe are, and always have been, within the period of recorded observations, just what they would have been if the property of which you speak had been necessary to the existence of matter. But whether you refer this law of motion to matter itself, or to the immediate will of God, or to the presence of a ministering spirit, one to each particle, matters nothing to the Newtonian theory, which is, that ‘gravity exists and acts,’ come how it may.” This, though a good resting-point against an objector, would hardly satisfy the spirit of inquiry: the answer which the person questioned would have made to himself might have been, “The same means and the same spirit which have enabled us to get thus far, will prevent our stopping here.”

It might have been supposed, that the glimpse of the invisible world which Newton thus gave would only have stimulated the zeal for further inquiry in the same direction. An *occult quality* as curious, as mysterious, and



far grander in its results than that which Agrippa attributed to the heliotrope, was made a positive fact, undeniable except by those whose constitutions will permit nothing but scepticism to influence them in judging long trains of reasoning. Surely, then, the very first consequence of the reception of this doctrine must have been a direction of the best energies of the strongest minds to the completion of the discovery and the absolute verification of its *physical* truth! No such thing: any one, who will consider a moment what would have happened if Agrippa's theory of the heliotrope had been found to be really true, may easily draw a parallel. Had it been verified that a bit of this stone in the hand made the holder invisible, would the fortunate possessors have thereupon commenced a series of inquiries upon the how and the why? Not until each of them had satisfied his curiosity in some other way. We are afraid that the direction of discovery would rather have pointed to practical application, cash-boxes, desks, and private receptacles of all kinds, and that the invisibles, placed beyond the control of law, would have proceeded to give the world a practical lesson upon the smallness of the influence of self-respect compared with that of the power of opinion. The philosophers, one and all, proceeded to extend and apply the new theory, not to sift its grounds. The invention of fluxions and the differential calculus, coming simultaneously with the theory of gravitation, opened the way to questions of physical utility by the score, and the scientific world used gravitation, and deferred inquiry into it until a more convenient season. Nobody will suspect us of drawing the parallel between them and the invisibles in a moral point of view; nevertheless, the pursuit, in all honesty, turned towards the cash-box; navigation and mechanics had the first innings; and attraction, as attraction, was no more thought of until, in measuring the Peruvian degree of the meridian, the neighbouring mountains gave a gentle hint to the plumb-lines of the astronomical instruments, that every particle of matter attracts every other; a hint which was legible in its effects upon the positions of the stars, though of too delicate a kind to be altogether without ambiguity. Chimborazo has the credit of suggesting that the attraction of masses smaller than a satellite may be made perceptible: and Schehallien, when the question was repeated to it, answered the inquiry in terms which admitted of no doubt.

Even when, in the hands of Maskelyne and Cavendish, one after the other, the phenomenon of attraction—we mean that of particle upon particle—was found to have that positive and physical existence which is now undeniable, it did not strike either the astronomer or the chemist that it was proper in the first instance to call the attention of philosophers more than slightly and incidentally to the fact, that the main point of the Newtonian theory could be verified by the senses—*oculis subjecta fidelibus*. The belief of the real truth of attraction was so well fixed, that they thought more of the immediate object which they were trying to attain than of the phenomenon which they made use of. That object was *the determination of the mean density of the earth*, and the heading of the memoir on which this article is written, as well as of those which preceded it, does not mention the circumstances which make this experiment interesting to every educated person. Had the memoir alluded to been thus described: “Account of an experiment by which the doctrine of Newton, that every particle of matter attracts every other particle, is visibly demonstrated, with a deduction of the mean density of the earth,” it would have been a better title for the world at large than the one which was actually employed. We well remember, in the days of our boyhood, the lecturers who then (but not in such numbers as now, nor so well acquainted with recent discovery) used to present themselves and their philosophy to the inhabitants of the country parts of this island, with their orreries to confuse all just idea of the dimensions of the solar system, and their centripetal and centrifugal forces to make incomprehensibility palpable. “Gentlemen and ladies,” said the sages, “it has pleased the Creator to impress upon the heavenly bodies a centripetal [some of them said centripetal] force towards the sun; but as this force, if uncounteracted, would drive the planets into the sun and destroy them, it has pleased the same Infinite Intelligence to prevent such a catastrophe by the creation of a centrifugal force, which has the same tendency to drive them from the sun as the centripetal has to urge them towards it.” This rare explication used to draw thunders of applause, and every man, woman and child fancied himself, herself, or itself, in the possession of the system of Newton, neat as imported. We pass over the exquisite wisdom of the alleged contrivance for preventing centripetal

force from producing its effect, by making it cease to exist, or applying a counterbalance, because confusion about the character of centrifugal force (so called) might have been learned from many respectable writers; and we proceed to observe, that though, at the time we speak of, Cavendish's experiment had been in print many years, we never, in the sort of lectures alluded to, heard any account of it, nor a single reference to the main fact, that the attraction of particle upon particle had been made to stand upon the footing of ocular demonstration. This was the fault of the philosophers, who had dwelt only upon the consequences, and seemed to care but little for the principle, of the experiment; seemed, we say, because we have no doubt that they were well aware the Newtonian hypothesis had received what would have been, had such been wanted, a full confirmation; we charge them with forgetting the rest of the world, and dwelling only upon that which was new to themselves.

The principle of the experiment before us is as follows. Supposing matter to attract matter according to the Newtonian law, it is obvious that *cæteris paribus*, the greater the mass or quantity of matter employed in attracting, the greater its effect will be; and that the greater the distance between the attracting and attracted body, the less the effect will be. Owing to the law of attraction, that of the inverse square of the distance, it is matter of demonstration, that any sphere whatsoever produces exactly the same effect as if the matter of the sphere were all condensed at its centre. Thus the whole earth may be treated mathematically as if it were but one particle at the centre, that one particle being the mass of the whole earth. This is merely a facilitation; nobody is required to imagine the whole earth condensed into a point at its centre, but only to proceed in calculation as if it were so. If, then, we can subject a pendulum, or any other indicator of the presence of force, to the action of any known portion of matter, say a ball of lead, and make the apparatus so delicate that this minute fraction of the whole earth *shall produce some measurable effect*, that effect, when measured, may be made by calculation to tell us what the attraction of the leaden ball is, and also what it would be if the leaden ball were removed to the centre of the earth. Here, then, we have two things to compare with one another: the attraction of the whole earth, collected at its centre, on the pendulum or

other indicator, which is called weight, and the attraction of the leaden ball, also at the centre of the earth, on the same. The attracting bodies being at the same distance, the difference of their attractions is due solely to that of their *quantities of matter* (of which we shall presently speak). So many times as the attraction of the whole earth exceeds the attraction of the leaden ball at its centre, so many times does the quantity of matter in the whole earth exceed the quantity of matter of the leaden ball: hence it is known, what quantity of lead would be equivalent in attracting effect to the whole earth. Such is the main principle of the Cavendish experiment: it establishes the fact, that the various subaltern portions of matter of which the earth is composed do attract one another, and it uses the amount of that attraction to compare the mass of the whole earth with that of a known portion of matter at its surface.

We shall presently give a more detailed account of the experiment. If we were writing for men of science, we should dwell almost entirely on the novelties of the mode which Mr. Baily adopted, to the omission of all those points with which our intended readers would then be supposed to be well acquainted. But as we wish this article to convey a notion of the whole subject to those who cannot read more upon it than a popular description, we must pursue another plan, referring those who wish to see all that can be seen to the memoir at the head of this article, which will well repay those who know how to make the investment.

It may, perhaps, strike an intelligent reader, that in the above sketch of the experiment we have used a vague phrase, *quantity of matter*. What is the quantity of matter in a brick? The Cartesians, if any be left, would answer easily, 150 cubic inches, since a brick, by act of parliament, must be ten inches long, five broad, and three deep. These philosophers placed the essence of matter in extension: they denied the existence of vacuum, and would not scruple to aver that a vessel filled with gold contains no more matter than the same filled with water. There may be more weight, they would say, and more hardness, and more redness, and more value; but weight is not matter, hardness is not matter, and so on; the very existence of matter is in its occupation of space. In fact, they confounded space and matter in a manner very convenient for our present purpose, since, if such a sect had never existed, we must have forged one by way of illustration. Now

brick is exactly twice as heavy as water; the single brick weighs 300 cubic inches of water. Ever since the phrase *mass* or quantity of matter has been used at all, it has been judged right to say, that, under equal bulks, the quantities of matter are in proportion to the weights; for instance, that the brick contains twice as much matter as its bulk of water. But this mode of expression involves an hypothesis. We readily admit that both the water and the brick are porous; and abstracting from our ideas the air contained in the two, it is a very possible thing that the space actually occupied by solid matter in the brick is double of the same in the water. If the particles be of the same sort, this must be the case: there is, in that case, no reason why the former should weigh twice as much as the latter, except its containing twice as many particles. But who is to affirm this perfect similarity of weight and size between the particles of the two? Not we, for our own parts. The fact is, that the state of things which we have prophesied as likely one day to be established, namely, the universal admission that *matter* is only attractions and repulsions, has long been in existence as far as the measure of *quantity* of matter is concerned. Weight is but the collective amount of the earth's attractions on all the parts of the body, and weight has been always taken as the measure of the quantity of matter; when, therefore, we say, with Mr. Baily, that the mass of the whole earth is  $5\frac{2}{3}$  of that of its bulk of water, we mean simply that the whole earth attracts  $5\frac{2}{3}$  times as much as it would do if it were all water—and we mean nothing more. If any one be inclined to suppose that the actual quantity of matter contained in different substances is not in proportion to their weights, let him substitute what theory of mass he pleases, the fact of the Cavendish experiment remains unaltered; namely, that the earth, or the whole collective matter of the earth, attracts  $5\frac{2}{3}$  times as much as the same bulk of water would do.

Now, it may be asked, what is the use of the experiment, and of its result? We answer, that to many of those who would put the question it is of no more use than a thermometer to a savage, and for the same reason. But putting out of view the corroboration of the great doctrine of attraction, and merely considering the knowledge of one circumstance connected with the structure of the earth, and looking to what is called practical utility only, the answer must be given by the astronomer and the geologist. The former

will reply, that as far as the determination of the celestial motions are concerned, it matters nothing whether the earth's mass be known or not; but that since the masses of the sun and the other planets can only be known by first knowing that of the earth, the Cavendish experiment is the necessary preliminary to all acquaintance with the physical structure of our system. Here he may safely stop; it is not necessary to make a defence of astronomy in general on every particular step of its progress. What the geologist would reply we have not knowledge enough of his science to predict; but this much we may safely undertake to say in his name, that if the knowledge of the earth's mean density be of no importance, it must be the consequence of the science being in its infancy.

What the final use of this experiment may be it is impossible to prognosticate; but nothing is more certain than that in every branch of inquiry, from pure mathematics upwards, results which have been thought of little value at the time of their announcement, have repeatedly been made of the greatest service. A matter which appears to be purely speculative, and which has been neglected under that character for centuries, may and has suddenly become, not merely auxiliary, but absolutely essential in some purpose of every-day use. We may go further and say, that there have been many new discoveries which would themselves have remained what is called useless, if suggestions derived from something which had long lain equally useless had not pointed out the mode of employment. Even, then, with reference to the advancement of the arts of life, there is wisdom in pushing forward every department of science; and the age which neglects any one of them resembles the foolish virgins who had not their lamps trimmed when the coming of the bridegroom was announced. We are not of the number of those who consider all knowledge as useless unless it have a material application; but we must remember that in this country it is not possible to maintain the claim of any branch of science upon any other than its physical merits. Still, however, there is a class of educated men which looks at the noblest effects of science, and which considers every great truth as a beacon to the human race; and we cannot help hoping that the repetition of this experiment is a proof of the influence of that class. To all who look with delight upon the progress of mind—to all who remember what the



study of nature has done for our species from its effects as a study—to all who know why it is that we now dare to do no more than observe a comet and laugh at a witch, instead of dreading the first and burning the second, such an experiment is welcome, as of the very highest practical utility.

We shall now endeavour to give a popular view of the Cavendish experiment, as repeated by Mr. Baily at the request of the Astronomical Society, and at the expense of the Government. Seeing that there is only difference of detail between the mode of Cavendish and that of Mr. Baily, we shall not describe the former, but shall commence with the mere recapitulation of the dates and leading circumstances of the previous history.

The French academicians, as already hinted, had attempted to estimate the attraction of Chimborazo on the plumb-lines of their instruments: their results, though going far to strengthen their original suspicion, that the attraction of the mountain was sensible, were too much affected by other sources of error to be made of use. In 1772, Maskelyne, in a paper presented to the Royal Society, urged a repetition of the attempt, and stated that it “would make the universal gravitation of matter, as it were, palpable to every person, and fit to convince those who will yield their assent to nothing but downright experiment. Nor would its uses end here, as it would serve to give a better idea of the total mass of the earth, etc.” A committee of the Royal Society recommended the mountain Schehallien for the purpose. Dr. Maskelyne proceeded thither accordingly, and made the experiments, of which the result was published in the “Philosophical Transactions” for 1775. His mode consisted in careful observations of known stars with an instrument depending on the truth of the plumb-line for its accuracy; and he made his observations both north and south of the mountain, the effect of which upon the plumb-line was therefore doubled, since the attraction would produce errors of different direction in the two cases. By comparing the action of the mountain with that of the earth, and taking the best account which could be got of the character of the materials of the former, Maskelyne made the mean density of the earth to be four or five times that of water. Dr. Hutton, who repeated the calculation, brought out four-and-a-half times that of water; but a subsequent minera-



logical examination of the mountain by Playfair and Lord Webb Seymour made the former conclude, that the mean density could not be greater than 4.867, and might be as small as 4.559. It is obvious that the difficulty of ascertaining with sufficient exactness the material of such a mass as that of Schehallien must have been a great objection to this mode of making the experiment. But it was not thrown away: now that a better method has given a sure result, we may turn back with that result, and make it give us the *mean density of Schehallien*, which it is now clear neither Maskelyne nor Playfair could find with sufficient accuracy. Nor is it unlikely that at a future time the mean density of mountains shall be commonly determined from the application of Maskelyne's or some other method to the determination of their attractions. At present, the union of the two experiments, Maskelyne's and Cavendish's, leads to the presumption, that a mountain is more dense than would be supposed by those who can only examine its surface.

The next attempt was the celebrated experiment, the principle of which was suggested by the Rev. T. Michell,\* and adopted and executed by Cavendish. Of this experiment, as distinguished from its repetition by Mr. Baily, it will be sufficient here to say, that the execution of it adds not a little even to the character of Cavendish; that the result, though the produce of few trials, always commanded a high degree of confidence, partly inspired by the well-known caution of Cavendish's character, and partly by the evident sufficiency of his apparatus, rude as it was, and by the complete exposition which he gave of the whole. This last was published in the "Philosophical Transactions" for 1798, in which the mean density of the earth was stated at 5.48; but for an error of calculation, pointed out by Mr. Baily, it would have been 5.45. Thus the matter stood for forty years. According to the best accounts of Maskelyne's experiment the earth was, at a mean,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  times as heavy as water; by that of Cavendish,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  times, roughly speaking. The latter experiment was universally taken to be the best, on account of the doubt as to the materials of which Schehallien is composed.

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\* Michell constructed the very apparatus which Cavendish used, and which he was only prevented by death from using. Cavendish has most distinctly stated this.

The fact of attraction, no one doubted, had been made perfectly perceptible to the senses by both.

In February, 1836, the Annual Report of the Council of the Astronomical Society informed that body, that the Council was determined to make every effort to repeat and extend the experiment of Cavendish. This determination was not a result of deliberation, but the manner in which it was first shown proves how highly the experiment itself was considered. A casual observation was made at the council-table, during some momentary suspension of a discussion on another subject, to the effect, that it would be a very desirable thing to repeat the experiment; this was echoed by so many voices, that a committee was appointed on the spot, to devise means for the execution of the plan. In February 1838, it was announced that £500 had been granted by the Government for the expenses of the operation, that Mr. Baily had undertaken its superintendence, and that the apparatus was nearly ready. But a few months before it had been announced to the Society that Mr. M. F. Reich, a professor at Freyberg, in Saxony, had repeated the experiment, and had obtained from about sixty observations 5.44, a result which may be called identical with that of Cavendish, for the earth's mean density. Considering that Mr. Baily's final result, produced from more than 2000 observations, marked by circumstances which show extreme care and decided success in the detection of causes of anomaly, is 5.67, so much larger than that of Mr. Reich, it is most probable that the observations made by the latter were too few in number to eliminate casual errors.

Four years after, in February 1842, Mr. Baily was not able to announce the completion of his observations. Some few months of the delay arose from a severe and almost fatal accident which he met with in the streets; but this was not all. Curious and inexplicable anomalies had arisen, which made it evident that the disturbing cause which had troubled Cavendish, or some other, was in active operation. To this we shall presently allude more fully. At the date above-mentioned, all that could be announced was, that the anomalies had been overcome, and that the accordance of the observations with one another was as satisfactory as could have been reasonably expected. In June of the same year a preliminary account of the now successful experiment was read to the

Society. In January 1843, the volume of the Memoirs of the Society, on which this article is written, made its appearance. Thus, in thought and execution, the experiment occupied more than seven years; its spirited undertaker spent more than twelve hundred hours in the mere act of watching a pendulum, independently of the time devoted to consideration of apparatus, computation of results, and preparation of the volume just mentioned.

The plan originally contemplated by Michell was to hang a torsion-pendulum, as it is called, with leaden balls at both ends, and to subject these balls to the attraction of large masses. Conceive a bar of wood, with a ball of lead at each end, suspended by a string or wire fastened to the middle of the bar, and so well balanced as to rest horizontally. If the bar be turned in the horizontal plane the string will be twisted, and on the bar being let go will untwist and will bring the bar back to the position in which the string is free, and in which it will finally settle after a number of oscillations. The force with which the string causes the return of the bar is called the force of torsion, and it is found to be, for all practical purposes, quite near enough to say that the restitutive force of torsion varies as the angular displacement of the bar; that is, whatever the restitutive force may be when the bar is turned through five degrees, there is twice as much when it is turned through ten degrees, and so on.

The very first point on which the reader who is not a mathematician would begin to be aware that he does not see his way, is when he reads about measuring the force of torsion in a given pendulum. He may probably know as much as this, that the instrument is made exceedingly delicate, so as to feel the smallest forces which come under our notice, and that the string or wire is a very variable agent, subject to all manner of atmospheric and other influences, and never in the same state for an hour together. Now, without entering into anything like proof, we will merely state that any *pendulum* whatsoever, though its construction be complicated and even variable, can have the amount of the forces which must act upon it to produce a given displacement, speedily and effectually determined, merely by counting the number of oscillations which it makes in a minute or any given time. This one single element, namely the time of an oscillation, is a record which may be put by till it is convenient to

calculate the forces which will produce any amount of displacement. This is the key to the greater part of the system of measurement of small forces: when the reader hears of the almost infinitely small manifestations of electricity being compared with one another and thus measured, he must remember that, be a force as small as it may, if a torsion-pendulum can be made delicate enough to be affected by it, it is as completely within the ken of a person who can count oscillations as if he could put it into a pair of scales, and much more easily. And though the pendulum should change its character, yet, as the oscillations change their times of performance with it, the first-named change is of no consequence as long as the change of oscillation is properly noted. Mr. Baily, in his 2000 experiments, used 2000 different pendulums; that is to say, though the same suspension-wire or silk was used in many observations together, yet the atmosphere and other causes were constantly changing the time of oscillation of the pendulum, that is, the pendulum itself. This matters nothing as long as the observer takes care to

“Catch, ere she flies, the Cynthia of the minute,”

if it be allowable to call the uninteresting changes of the wire of a torsion-pendulum by so poetical a name.

Now suppose that to the balanced torsion-pendulum, or rather to the leaden balls at the end of it, two large balls of lead are presented on opposite sides. If the pendulum be perfectly steady—we mean, if after disturbance it settles down into a position of rest at the end of a series of oscillations—then supposing that the larger balls of lead (which call the *masses*) attract the smaller ones, one of two things must happen: either the attraction of the masses must be too small sensibly to alter the position of the pendulum, or that alteration must take place to a certain definite amount, and the bar which connects the leaden rods will be turned through a certain angle. This angle can be measured: we should lose sight of the principle of the experiment if we stopped to describe all the subordinate modes of overcoming difficulties which belong equally to other experiments: let the reader grant, then, that if any sensible displacement arise there are means of ascertaining its exact amount. Cavendish used one mode, Mr. Baily two, at different times.

It was Michell's notion that the pendulum could be

made steady, and the description of the experiment would then have closely resembled that of Maskelyne; altogether, if the leaden masses had been called *Schehalliens*: for the masses draw the pendulum out of its position by an ascertained quantity, and the time of oscillation of the pendulum, the duration of which can be ascertained as it settles into its new position of equilibrium, points out the quantity of force necessary to produce that displacement. The masses of course supply that quantity of force; hence their attraction is ascertained, and the remaining process is that previously described. And whether the mass be as large as a mountain, and distant, or as small as an attainable ball of lead, and near, matters nothing as long as the effect can be produced, and is produced and measured.

But when the actual torsion-pendulum was constructed, it was found that its steadiness was only a misapprehension. So delicate was it, that it showed not only the attraction of the balls, but the effects of little changes in the surrounding atmosphere, or of vibrations in the material to which the wire is attached. Both Cavendish and Baily put two inclosures between themselves and the torsion-rod. The latter, after confining the pendulum within a box of the shape of *J*, which contained both the torsion-rod and the wire, and having glass at the ends that the torsion-rod might be seen, put the whole of the apparatus, up to some height in the vertical stroke of the *J*, into a solid wooden frame which stood upon the floor of the room, with a glass window through which to see the torsion-rod (which was thus never viewed except through two glasses), while the upper part of the *J* was attached to a beam in the roof. The pendulum-wire and pendulum were quite clear of their inclosures, in such a manner that the latter might be violently shaken without affecting either of the former. The only place in which the pendulum came in contact with anything except air, heat, magnetism, electricity, gravitation, or unknown agents, was at the ceiling where the wire was attached; but the beam with which it communicated was so firm that violent jumping in the room above the apparatus produced no sensible effect. The precautions taken made the temperature vary but little and slowly; but the pendulum did not acknowledge the presence of any means employed to raise or lower the whole of the surrounding temperature: heated lumps or masses of ice were placed with impunity near the torsion-box, and within the

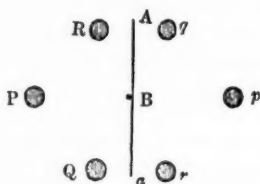
larger inclosure. But notwithstanding this apparent imperturbability, the pendulum was never at rest; however long it might be let alone, it was always found to be in a state of slow oscillation. Cavendish found the same circumstance, and many persons would perhaps have abandoned the experiment in consequence. But it is obvious that the point at which the pendulum *would* rest, if these unexplained disturbances ceased to exist, is all that is wanted: grant that this can be found, and it matters nothing whether the pendulum *does* rest or not. From comparing the position in which it would rest by itself with that in which it would rest when the attracting masses are presented, the main result, namely, the attraction of the masses, can be obtained. If the oscillations of the pendulum were always of equal extent, and if each oscillation were a repetition of the preceding one, there would be no difficulty in finding the natural point of rest, namely, half-way between the extreme points. But in almost every delicate philosophical experiment it is found that nothing will behave as it ought to do: tendency to good behaviour, prevented by external disturbances, is the constantly recurring state of things with which the experimenter has to deal. In the case before us, not only was the extent different in different oscillations, but *the point of rest was in motion*; that is, the position of rest as inferred from one oscillation was rarely or never exactly the same as that inferred from the preceding. Here again the "Cynthia of the minute" was to be caught: the point of rest immediately preceding the bringing-up of the attracting masses was to be found and compared with that immediately following. The masses generally reposed in what was called the *neutral position*, one in which each attracted the two balls equally, or so that the axis of the frame on which they were supported was at right-angles to the torsion-bar; from hence, when it was desired to bring them into play, they were wheeled round on a pivot, so that one should approach one of the leaden balls at the end of the torsion-bar on one side and the other on the other. We shall not enter into the mode by which these important elements, the positions of rest, were disentangled: nor shall we do more than refer to the necessary corrections which had to be calculated, namely, for the attraction of the parts of the apparatus which are not included in the masses, for the attraction of each mass upon the more distant ball, etc., in



order that the final experimental result might be simply the attraction of one of the large leaden balls or masses upon one of the small balls at the end of the pendulum.

And here we may observe, that the construction of the apparatus was a matter requiring considerable judgment, both in the hands of Cavendish and of Mr. Baily, the latter of whom adopted details differing greatly from those of the former. The torsion-rod was seventy-seven inches long, and the suspension-wire about sixty inches long: the great balls or masses weighed nearly three-and-a-half hundred-weight apiece: and it was one of the problems of the experiment, to place these great masses in such a manner as to secure both mobility and firmness. It was required, at any notice, to bring round seven hundred-weight of lead and all its supports, almost instantaneously, from the neutral into the acting position. Mr. Baily managed this much better than either Cavendish or Reich; the masses were placed in wooden cups at the end of a solid plank securely supported, so as to revolve on a pivot which was under the centre of the torsion-box. A stop was placed to bring them up when they had attained their proper position, and ropes guided by single pulleys were brought up to the observer's hands, so that he could alter the position of the masses even while sitting quietly at the telescope through which the aperture of the torsion-box was viewed. It was no doubt to Mr. Cubitt's excellent management of this part of the apparatus that the large number of the experiments is partly due: Mr. Baily made thousands where Cavendish made tens.

The reader is now to imagine the apparatus, and the observer seated in a corner of the room at the telescope, with the masses in their neutral position, or in which they affect both ends of the torsion-rod equally and in opposite directions.



In the diagram the spectator is supposed to be looking down upon the apparatus: A *a* is the rod of the pendulum,

the suspension-wire rising vertically from B;  $p$  are the masses in their neutral position, in which each attracts both balls equally;  $Q q$  are the masses in one set of acting positions (which call the *positive* position), in which their effort is to turn the pendulum so that A shall move to the right;  $R r$  are the masses in another acting position (which call the *negative* position), in which their effect is to turn the pendulum so that A shall move to the left. By bringing the masses from the neutral into one of the acting positions, the pendulum immediately begins to make its oscillations about a line of rest, which is not the line of rest it had immediately before. But instead of following this plan, it was found more advisable to note the alteration which took place when the masses were brought from the positive position into the negative one, or *vice versâ*, by which the change was doubled, on account of the masses first attracting on one side and then on the other.

We now describe the result of *one* single observation, leaving out very minute fractions in the results. The pendulum being found to be in such a state that its slow vibrations were performed in 242 seconds each, the bringing up of the masses on one side and the other made a double deviation on either side from the neutral position of rest, by which it was found that the single deviation was 2.3 of the divisions on the scale by which the position of the pendulum was noted. From this single observation alone, it was found that the earth's mean density should be 5.79. On another day, when the pendulum was made so much more active by a different mode of suspension that its vibrations were performed in 168 seconds, the single deviation from the neutral position was only 1.13 of the same divisions; but the earth's density as deduced from these new data was 5.74, very near the former. The shorter time of the oscillations shows the superior strength of the torsion force in the second case; the stiffer the wire of suspension, the more vigorous the effect of torsion to restore equilibrium after disturbance. Accordingly, in the second case the masses could not produce so much effect as in the first; they only disturbed the neutral position of rest by about half as much as in the first case. These two experiments, then, are two independent testimonies to the fact of the earth's mean density being close upon 5½: in every particular two independent testimonies. For though the same observer made both experiments, yet he could

not have any bias on his mind in favour of a particular result: for it was impossible that he could foresee the effect of the train of computations which came between the data of observation and the final result. More than two thousand witnesses lend their voices to the same conclusion; some favour more than  $5\frac{1}{2}$ , some less, but the preceding quantity is the probable mean of all.

Before, however, anything like a satisfactory result could be obtained, there was a period of nearly two years in which there was nothing but discouragement: it seemed as if the government money, and the energies of Mr. Baily and all with whom he advised, were thrown away in nothing but proving that Cavendish had overrated Michell's method. We say thrown away, because the world counts nothing upon an error prevented, and would have considered it dead loss, all talk about the love of truth notwithstanding, if it could only have been shown that the notion of measuring attraction accurately was to be abandoned. It was not that the apparatus refused to work, but that it did more work than could be accounted for. The pendulum was so steady that a stout man jumping about the room would have produced no effect upon it, and yet the moment the masses were brought up it began to run riot, and behave any how but as a decent pendulum should have done, subpoenaed upon so solemn an occasion. It altered its point of rest quite as much as could have been expected, and frequently more; but instead of taking oscillations which gradually diminished in extent, as should have been the case, it actually increased its vibrations, so as at length to strike the sides of the box. Cavendish and Reich had observed anomalies of various kinds resembling the preceding; but they seemed to consider them as casual effects of temperature, which would not, being sometimes of one kind and sometimes of another, affect the mean of a large number of observations. Mr. Reich, who it appears attributed these disturbances to small hairs or other filaments getting into the torsion-box, was supposed to have contented himself with rejecting the discordant experiments altogether; a very bad plan. Every experimenter who rejects anomalous instances upon a theory as to their cause, runs great risk of totally vitiating his own final results, and converts his observations into conclusions from theory. Cavendish, presuming upon the correctness of his mean, and, therefore, not attempting to correct these discordances,

yet attributed them to the difference of temperature between the masses and the surrounding air; and in this it appears he was right. But how could this have been guessed at when the torsion-box was well secured from the entrance of air, and a baize screen was interposed between it and the masses; when moreover it was found that the introduction of lighted lamps or lumps of ice, placed within the outer inclosure, were wholly ineffective one way or the other. It was suggested, nevertheless, by Professor Forbes, that radiation of heat from the masses might be the cause of the discordances after all. It is to be remembered that the lumps of ice, hot lamps, etc., which had been employed, powerful as their influence might be, produced their effects with rapidity upon the whole torsion-box, pretty much in one part the same as in another; thereby not creating any decided tendency to inequality of temperature, and consequent currents of air in the interior. But the weights, acting feebly and at the extremities of the case, might possibly, by a much less amount of radiant heat, disturb the internal equilibrium of the air in a much greater degree; and in fact it turned out, that as soon as the torsion-box was covered with flannel and then inclosed in an outer gilt case, and the masses had been covered with gilt paper, the anomalous character of the experiments entirely ceased, or showed itself only faintly and at distant intervals. This excellent lesson upon the extreme care necessary in the use of the torsion-pendulum, and which we are told has not been lost upon those who are engaged in magnetical observations, is due to the dogged resolution of Mr. Baily, who seems to have been resolved not to pretend to have attained a result until the difficulty was explained. Month after month the apparatus was kept standing, and for more than a year and a half, and through 1300 tedious observations, there seemed to be nothing but one discouragement after another. All these observations were abandoned, and not until the anomalies had been removed was one of those made which have at last led to the result.

When Cavendish made his experiment, he tried only the action of leaden balls upon leaden balls; presuming, with Newton, that the action of matter upon matter depends only upon density, and not upon whether it is metal or wood, glass or ivory, etc. Now this point, though well settled by the ordinary pendulum in favour of New-

ton's hypothesis, had not been brought to the plainest test of generally intelligible experiment: the philosopher could not refuse the conclusion any more than that of gravitation, but the method which would seem more direct to all the world had never been applied. Suppose, for example, that the action of lead on glass is different from that on ivory; say that lead attracts glass more than it does ivory. The greater the action of the leaden masses on any substance, the less the quantity of lead which must be presumed to be equal in mass to the whole earth; hence, the less the specific gravity of the earth which must be inferred by a person who does not take the difference of action into account. Consequently, if lead attract glass more than it does ivory, the mean density deduced from glass will be less than that deduced from ivory. Mr. Baily tried the action of his leaden masses on balls of glass, ivory, zinc, brass, lead, and platinum, and he combined the use of these with different modes of suspending the torsion-pendulum, using copper, iron, and brass wires, and also silk threads. The result is, that there is not the slightest reason to infer any perceptible difference in the action of lead on these different substances; and the delicacy of the torsion-pendulum makes greater differences between the results of different modes of suspension than differences of gravitation (if any) make between those of different attracted substances. Looking at the mere results of the different substances, without attention to anything else, it would almost seem to be proved, that the lighter substances give a (slightly) greater mean density, or are less attracted by the lead, than the heavier. But on looking at the effect of varying the mode of suspension, we find that there is the greatest reason to suppose that any alteration in that important element produces more alteration than can possibly, on any supposition, be attributed to difference of gravitation.

For the conduct of this experiment—for the patient and philosophical temper exhibited under its difficulties, no less than for the skill with which it was brought to a triumphant conclusion, Mr. Baily received the gold medal of the Society under whose auspices it was undertaken; which was presented by Lord Wrottesley, the president (a practical astronomer, who had himself received a similar medal for a catalogue of stars observed at his own observatory), accompanied by an address to the Society, in

which every effort seems to have been made to show that the Council considered the occasion no common one. In this feeling we entirely agree. We have the wished-for confirmation of the truth of a grand method, and final certainty given to a result the possibility of which not even Archimedes would have dared to imagine. "Give me where I may stand," said that philosopher, "and I will move the earth;" but if he had been asked whether he would put it into a pair of scales and weigh it, we think he would have hesitated. We have full justice done to the memory of Cavendish and Michell, and to the excellent suggestion of the latter and execution of the former are added facts of the highest value to all who will hereafter have to separate the effects of minute forces from each other.

Perhaps some of our readers would be better pleased if, instead of stating the result in terms of water, we were to specify the exact substance of which the earth should be uniformly composed, so as to play the same part in attraction as it now does; what substance, in fact, is so much lighter than the heavy, and heavier than the light, among terrestrial bodies, as to represent the mean substance of the earth in density. Looking at a table of specific gravities (the most recent we know of is in the "Penny Cyclopædia"), we find that Cornish copper is 5.452, and dark red silver ore 5.684: between these, but nearer to the latter, would be the substance required. Or we might say, the matter of the whole earth (supposed solid) is, one part with another, twice as dense as Parian marble, three times as dense as nitre, four times as dense as honey, five times as dense as gum; also half as dense as melted lead, one-third as dense as unhammered gold, and one-fourth as dense as platinum. When the French government proposed to construct the metre exactly one four-hundred-millionth part of the circumference of the globe, they stated that it would be a pleasure to the humble owner of a few acres to be able to say, "I am lord of exactly such a fraction of the whole surface of the earth." In like manner there is some little sense of curiosity gratified in being told that platinum exceeds in density the average material of the earth about as many times as that material exceeds honey. But those who are fond of a jingle (which is always a help to memory) may set down the average material as half-way between glass and brass.



One result of the experiment (we take it as settled that the mean density of the earth is  $5\frac{1}{3}$  times that of water, with very great unlikelihood of any error so large as  $\frac{1}{10}$ ) is the impossibility of supposing, as many have done, that our earth is hollow. In the address on the delivery of the medal just alluded to, it is stated as a result of calculation, that on the supposition of the earth being solid one-eighth of the way to the centre, which is more than many speculators would admit, the mean density of that part which is material must be considerably greater than that of mercury, and all but equal to that of hammered gold. Mr. Baily establishes the fact, that be the globe of the earth what it may, it attracts as much as  $5\frac{1}{3}$  times the same *bulk* of water: if it be a hollow shell, then the part which *is* solid must be all the more dense, so as to make up the deficiency which would otherwise arise from the hollow part. Those who would have this earth, then, to be a shell, one-eighth of the radius deep, must imagine the staple of our planet to be gold, or some very heavy metal (the ores are not heavy enough), covered over with a little granite, clay, etc. to prevent it from being one big El Dorado. There are many speculators who cannot do without a vast hollow in the inside of our earth, from Professor Leslie, who filled it with refulgent light, to the author of some sermons we once read, who divided it into two compartments, one for heaven, the other for hell. All these ingenious men must henceforward contrive something else: not that their suppositions were not as much overthrown by Cavendish as they have been since by Mr. Baily, but because the latter result, being recent, accompanied by remarkable circumstances, and appearing at a time when experimental inquiry is widely made known, will prevent their speculation from finding believers. Of all guessers, commend us to Newton: he put his means of judging together, and drew the conclusion that the earth would probably be found to be between five and six times as heavy as water; and so it has been shown to be. The author of "*Hypotheses non fingo*" has frequently been proved to be more correct in mere and avowed suspicions than others in their most studied investigations.

While on this subject we may remark, that the respectability which attaches to even a surmise of Newton has not procured any great celebrity for a most remarkable prediction which is not yet verified. We allude to the last

paragraph of the celebrated "*Scholium*," which he added to the second edition of the "*Principia*"—to the very last words, in fact, of that immortal work. Literally translated they run thus:—

"I might now add something on that most subtle spirit which pervades and lies hid in solid bodies, by the force and action of which the particles of bodies attract one another at the smallest distances, and cohere when they come together, and electrical bodies act at still greater distances, both in attracting and repelling neighbouring particles; by which also light is emitted, reflected, refracted, inflected, and causes heat in bodies; by which, moreover, all sensation is excited and voluntary motion is caused, namely, by the vibrations of this spirit" (or ether) "communicated through the solid capillaments of the nerves from the external organs of sense to the brain, and from the brain to the muscles. But this could not be treated briefly; nor is there a sufficient quantity of experiments by which the laws of action of this spirit may be accurately determined and demonstrated."

Within three sentences of the words already alluded to, "*hypotheses non fingo*," Newton expresses his deliberate opinion, that cohesion, light, heat, electricity, and the communication of the brain with the muscles, are all to be referred to one and the same cause, an ether or *spiritus*, which pervades all bodies. We might smile at such an opinion from many quarters, and had Newton been only the author of the "*Principia*," we might, perhaps, think his head was a little exalted by the excitement attending the close of an arduous labour (though in truth, the *Scholium* from which the above is extracted, does not appear in the first edition); but when we remember his prediction, that the diamond would be found to be combustible, that the earth was between five and six times its weight of water, and others which have turned out correct, we feel something like a presentiment that the opinions just cited may in some degree share the same destiny. As far as succeeding investigations have gone, the suspicion is already rather for than against some of them.

When the time shall come to which we have alluded, in which matter shall be recognised as exhibiting no other phenomena but those of attraction and repulsion—when the modes of action and laws of connexion of the varied forms of attraction and repulsion shall have become more fully known by experiments yet to be made, and mathematical power which is yet to be slowly worked out—the his-

tory of the attempts by which the *physical reality* of the first and most easy of the powers of nature, gravitation, was demonstratively established, will be as much a matter of interest to the metaphysician as now to the explorer of the material creation. All that we call discordance and anomaly will then be order and regularity; and it will be a subject of curious inquiry how it was possible to set down as accidental disturbance the effect of what will then seem the straightforward and easy consequence of established second causes.

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ART. IV.—*Memoirs of Father Ripa, during thirteen years' Residence at the Court of Peking, in the service of the Emperor of China; with an Account of the Foundation of the College for the Education of Young Chinese at Naples. Selected and Translated from the Italian.* By FORTUNATO PRANDI. London: 1844.

M<sup>R</sup>. MURRAY began the Series of his Home and Colonial Library, with Borrow's Bible in Spain. If we pardon that offence, and we do so with difficulty, it will be for having introduced to the English reading public the highly interesting volume of Father Ripa's *Residence at the Court of Peking*. The original work was published at Naples, in 1832, in three volumes, under the title of "*The History of the Chinese College*," and the present work consists of such selections as relate to the personal adventures of the founder of that college, and the circumstances which led to its original establishment; and we have never seen so much useful, and valuable, and interesting information imparted on such reasonable terms. The trifling outlay of half-a-crown will enable the adventurous student to become almost domesticated in the imperial residence, to see the celestial brother of the sun and moon in the privacy of his court, to become acquainted with the various members of his household, and to tread the crowded streets of Peking in company with a most amusing and interesting companion. Father Ripa was one of those great men, whose fame is only now becoming known to the people of this country. There are many who would be prevented, by the very fact of his being an Italian and a priest, from any perusal of his pages, and who are influ-

enced by a feeling akin to that which led many a doubting bigot in the times of old, to ask of his divine Master, "Can any thing good come out of Nazareth?" We can only say, that those who will so far overcome their prejudices, and under the sanction of Mr. Murray's name we are sure that many will, as to read the memoirs we have now before us, will be well rewarded. They will see that the classic soil of Italy is not even in these latter days afflicted with intellectual sterility. We can assure them that the modern Italian literature is a real mine of intellectual wealth, teeming with veins of golden ore, and sparkling with many a gem of pure and dazzling ray, to which the English student has been hitherto, unfortunately for himself, comparatively a stranger.

Father Ripa is a thorough Papist. Let our readers only fancy a young man born in Naples, about the end of the 17th century, who never saw a Protestant until he was in his way through Germany to China, and they will, perhaps, have some idea of what a Catholic our author was. When introducing himself to our notice, he gives us to understand, that in his early days his life was far from being regular, that he spent his time in idle amusements, and was not altogether exempt from the vices of his native city. Strolling one day about the streets of Naples, in search of amusement, he came to the open space in front of the Vice-regal Palace just as a Franciscan friar mounted a bench to address the people. He was only eighteen years of age, and the words of the good father made such an impression upon him, that he at once abandoned his evil courses, and changed his mode of life. He subsequently entered the ecclesiastical state, and was ordained at Salerno, on the completion of his twenty-third year. Through the advice of a Father Torres, of the order of Pious Labourers, and according to his own desire, he offered himself a candidate for the Chinese mission. Here is a sketch of a student's life in Rome 140 years ago:—

"On the 26th November, 1705," he says, "I set out for Rome, with Don Gennaro Amodei, a Calabrian priest, who also had been proposed by Father Torres for the Chinese mission. We reached our destination on the 30th, and were kindly received by our superiors, and by the Pope, to whom they presented us. Our apartments in the Propaganda not being yet ready, we took up our quarters at an inn; but as it is not desirous for ecclesiastics to dwell in places of this description, and, moreover, as we had no

money to pay the landlord, we resolved to seek refuge in the college erected by Innocent XII., for the purpose of rescuing houseless priests from the dangers of lodging-houses; we still, however, had to pay about twenty shillings a month for our board and lodging, and as we had nothing to make up this sum but the five-pence a day we got for the mass, I was obliged with great shame and reluctance to ask alms, in order to provide the remainder. That I might reduce my expenses as much as possible, I mended my own clothes, washed my only shirt at night, and even slept on a mat at night, owing to which I have been dreadfully tormented with the rheumatism ever since. In this distress we petitioned his Holiness for some assistance, and he allowed us ten shillings a month, which was just enough to meet our wants. Being aware how important it is to lead a methodical life during our stay in the college, we apportioned different hours of the day for study, prayer, and all other occupations; and in the evening, after a rigid self-examination, we confessed to one another. Don Amodei kneeling before me, accusing himself of his faults and his temptations, and kissing my feet, and I afterwards going through the same holy duty with him. Don Amodei was a most excellent and holy young man, gifted with every virtue, and distinguished by a purity of mind which he guarded with the greatest solicitude."—Page 5.

These were the men to carry the glad tidings of redemption to the heathen, and this was the school in which they were to learn the virtues of patience and self-denial, that were afterwards to sustain them in their arduous ministry. Poor Don Amodei had well-nigh sunk under privations and austerities, which the hardier frame and stronger constitution of Ripa enabled him to bear without any material injury. The latter, after completing his necessary theological studies, was employed for some time in the mission at Capradosso. We should gladly extract from his narrative some most interesting and edifying circumstances of his labours in this locality, but our immediate concern is with the mission of China, to which he was expressly devoted, and to which he was soon called by his ecclesiastical superiors. It was shortly before this time, that Tournon had been sent out to China by his Holiness, as apostolical commissioner. He was favourably received by the Emperor, and it was thought advisable, both in consideration of his services, and to forward the objects of the mission, to invest him with the purple. He was accordingly nominated cardinal, and a deputation of ecclesiastics was appointed to convey to him the hat, and to make

known his nomination to that dignity. Father Ripa was of the number; and Don Amodei, who had been ordered to Naples for the benefit of his native air, was afterwards added to the list at his own urgent and earnest supplication. The letter in which that request was conveyed, had more tears than ink upon its page. On the 13th of October they set out for London, where they hoped to obtain a passage in one of the ships of the East-India Company, not as missionaries, but in the guise of ordinary travellers. They journeyed over-land, through Mantua, Trent—where Ripa says he first heard the sound of the German language—to Augsburg, where, to his utter amazement, he saw, to him the greatest of all curiosities, *a priestess*, as he terms the wife of one of the Protestant clergymen. At Cologne they laid aside their clerical dress, and having obtained from the English ambassador at the Hague passports in an assumed name, they arrived in London on the 7th of January, 1708. The board of directors, ignorant of their real character, granted them a passage on board one of their vessels, the *Donegal*, then about to sail for India. Don Amodei passed himself off as a mathematician, Ripa as a painter, and Father Perone, the senior of them all, as a servant in attendance on the others. After many vexatious delays, and having been several times in danger of discovery, they set sail at Easter of that year; and after spending as much time in working their way down the Channel, as is now consumed in the entire voyage to Calcutta, they entered the Mouth of the Ganges on the first of February of the following year. We give an extract from this portion of the memoirs, which would be sufficiently amusing if it were not, alas! suggestive of many disastrous consequences to the interests of religion in these countries. It is not surprising that, with such missionaries as are there described, Catholicity in India should have declined. The only wonder is, that it has not altogether disappeared.

“ In ascending the river, my companions being still laid up with the scurvy, I one day stood alone in a corner of the vessel, reading my breviary, which, from prudential motives, was bound in white, and looked exactly like a common book. While thus employed, I suddenly heard a voice, close by, inquiring in Portuguese, whether I was a priest. I turned round, and on seeing an Indian youth, about fifteen years of age, who had come to meet us with other merchants from Calcutta, I reproved him in a severe tone.



Perceiving that I was afraid to discover myself, he told me that he was a Catholic, in proof of which he crossed himself, and then eagerly proffered his services. It was by no accident that this youth found me out; he was sent to us by Divine Providence, which perceived that, being perfectly friendless in that country, with shattered health and exhausted funds, we could not have reached our destination without an act of its special assistance. Having learned from this young man, that the Augustinians, for whom we had a letter from the general of the order, had a house in the neighbourhood, I proceeded thither as soon as we arrived at Calcutta, leaving my companions behind. On reaching their abode, I was introduced to an old monk, who was deaf, and ignorant in the extreme, but a good sort of man withal. He took my letter and affected to read it; but as he had no knowledge of Latin, he could make nothing of it. Being desirous to know the name and surname of the Father General, he turned to me, giving himself an air as though he had understood the whole, and pointing to the signature, he said, 'what villanous writing! pray decypher the signature for me.' When he had heard the name and surname of the Father General, he betrayed his ignorance still more, by asking me, whether he was the Father General, or the Father General-in-chief; and I adapting my words to his ignorance, assured him that it was actually the Father General-in-chief, whereat he expressed himself greatly pleased. He afterwards inquired whether I was really sent by St. Peter, and on being answered in the affirmative, he conceived a great opinion of me, and did all in his power to forward my wishes. As the reader will no doubt be greatly surprised at the ignorance of this monk, I will tell him how such things came to pass. The most serene king of Portugal, being very anxious to maintain and extend our holy faith in these regions, decreed that all their officers and sailors, who, on passing thither, might feel disposed to take holy orders, should be allowed to follow their inclination without any impediment, the harvest being abundant and the reapers scarce. When a Portuguese vessel arrives at Goa, the missionaries of different religious orders go on board, and call aloud, whether there is any one who will join them. Among such numbers there is always some one, who having in a moment of danger vowed to reform, or hoping to live more comfortably, answers the call; and thus many of the missionaries are very ignorant, and some of them very vicious, which is still worse; so that far from contributing to the propagation of our holy religion, they do exactly the reverse, by bringing it into contempt. A few days afterwards we were invited to dine with an Irish gentleman, a Mr. Barnaby, who with great generosity had granted us three places, gratis, on board a ship which he was freighting to Manilla."—Page 25.

On his arrival at Canton, he found the Cardinal de

Tournon and forty missionaries in prison, they having incurred the displeasure of the Emperor, for refusing to comply with some ordinances of the Chinese Board of Rites. The cardinal, worn down by anxiety of mind, departed this life in prison at Canton shortly after, at the early age of forty-one. Father Ripa, however, in his character of painter, and his companions, in the various scientific and artistic capacities which they had assumed, were sent off express to court, to exert their talents for the amusement and advantage of his Imperial Majesty. If our readers permit us, we shall do them the honour of conducting them in company with the missionaries, to the august presence of the Emperor Kang-hy:—

“ After remaining for some time in an apartment with a number of mandarins, we were shown into a spacious open hall, where the chief eunuch came to meet us, and made us sit down upon cushions, which are used by the Tartars, who do not sit like us, or like the Chinese, but with their legs crossed. When we had taken our seats, the eunuchs and the mandarins standing, two large golden bowls, one full of meat, the other of fish, were brought to us, with the intimation that the whole was sent by the Wan-Sui, which signifies the life of a thousand years, which is one of the titles of his majesty, and that it came from his own table. Such being the case, we were ordered to go on our knees, which is the universal custom upon receiving any thing direct from his majesty. Then taking the two bowls, we were obliged to raise them on high in our hands, and perform the ko-tow, that is, bend the head to the ground, in sign of thanks for the great favour thus conferred upon us. After sitting down again we declined tasting the meat, saying, that, being Friday, our religion forbade it, and we partook of the other things. We were then asked whether we had come prepared to serve the Emperor even unto death, and we replied that such was exactly our wish. When the dinner was over, we were presented to his majesty in his private apartments. He was seated after the fashion of the Tartars, on a divan covered with velvet, and had before him a small table, upon which were placed some books and writing materials; upon his right and left were some European missionaries with some eunuchs, having their feet close together, and their arms hanging down, which in China is a sign of modesty and respect. Following the instructions received from the mandarins, as soon as we were within sight of the Emperor we hastened our steps to the divan on which he was seated, and there we stood a few moments with closed feet and arms hanging down. Then at a signal given by the master of ceremonies, lowering his hand, we bent our knees, and after remaining a short time in this position, at another signal we inclined slowly our heads till we touched the ground with the

forehead, and this was repeated a second and a third time. After these three prostrations, we arose to our feet, and then we again repeated them in the same manner, until they amounted to nine. This homage is called the *tah-lee*, that is, the great or solemn ceremony. Subsequently when we went into the presence of the Emperor, which was a frequent occurrence, we only knelt once, excepting at certain annual solemnities, such as the Emperor's birthday, the first day of the year, and some few other occasions, when the nine prostrations were indispensable. After these ceremonies, his majesty asked which of us had made any progress in the Chinese language, as he had been informed by the mandarins appointed to attend us, that one of the five had done so; he was answered that I was the one; he then inquired our names, country, and profession, and whether we had brought any new mathematical works with us. He also ordered Signor Pedrini to play some music, put some questions to Signor Fabri concerning mathematics, and said something to me about painting. To this point the conversation had been kept up by means of interpreters. The Emperor now commanded me to answer the next question in Chinese, expressing myself as well as I could. He addressed me very slowly, employing many synonymous words, in order that I might understand him, and was very patient with me, making me repeat the words, till at length he made out what I meant. The question was, as to the cause of the Cardinal de Tournon's death at Macao. At the termination of the audience, we were obliged to hasten out of the apartment, as quickly as possible, which is a mark of respect paid to the Emperor. Having thus left the presence, I was informed by the mandarins, that it was his majesty's pleasure that I should go to the palace to paint, and accordingly I entered upon my duty the following day."—Page 47.

From the Rev. Father's own admission we can collect, that previous to his installation as court painter extraordinary to his Imperial Majesty, his practice in that department of art had been very limited indeed. He had never aspired to any higher ambition than that of making a very moderate copy; but as copies are not at all esteemed by the Chinese, he was compelled to draw upon his own imagination, and venture upon the new and untried field of landscape painting. He accordingly tells us, that he commended his efforts to God, and was successful beyond his most anxious expectations. From painting he was soon transferred to the engraving department, for which his only preparation had been a few hours' instruction which he received from a friend, previous to his departure from Rome, as if in contemplation of such a probable contingency. In this occupation, also, he had the good fortune

to merit or to obtain the approval of the emperor, for his talents and perseverance at length triumphed over the many failures that awaited his first efforts. His situation at court afforded him many opportunities of observing the domestic customs of the people; and his memoirs are full of the most interesting matter illustrative of their social condition, which we regret not being able to transfer to our pages. The following extract, describing their respect for parental authority, may well excite a blush on the cheeks of many a member of a holier and purer dispensation, though we doubt very much whether many of our friends and acquaintance would be willing to encourage its adoption to the full extent of the letter:—

“One day as I was talking in my own house with a mandarin who had come to pay me a visit, his son arrived from a distant part of the empire, upon some business relating to the family. When he came in we were seated, but he went down on one knee before his father, and in this condition continued to speak for about a quarter of an hour. I did not move from my chair until, by the course of conversation, I discovered who the person was, when I suddenly rose, protesting to the mandarin that I would stand, unless he allowed his son to sit down also. A lengthened contest ensued; the father saying that he would quit his seat if I continued to stand; I, myself, declaring that it was impossible for me to sit while his son was kneeling; and the son protesting that before his father he must remain on his knees. At last, however, I overcame every scruple, and the mandarin signified to his son, by a sign, that he might be seated. He instantly obeyed, but he retreated to a corner of the room, where he timidly seated himself upon the edge of a chest. A year after this, the son again came to visit me, having now become a mandarin himself. I offered him the seat of honour which was due to him, but he refused it, saying, that it did not become him to take the same seat, which, as I might remember, his father had occupied the year before. Accordingly, when an emperor dies, his son never sits upon the same throne, but upon that which had been used by his grandfather. Not only are children thus submissive to their parents, but younger brothers to the elder. Being one day out of Peking, in attendance upon the emperor, I was visited by a boy, of about twelve or thirteen years of age, accompanied by his brother, who was a child of about five or six years old, very lively and interesting. I asked the latter several questions, which he answered with so much intelligence, that I gave him a handkerchief; but no sooner was it offered than he withdrew his hands, and put them behind him in token of refusal. I asked him what he meant, when he replied, *Ko-ko*; that is, ‘elder brother.’ I then desired his brother to

permit him to take it, and a nod from him was sufficient for the gay and joyous child; who instantly took the gift, and returned thanks as the common people do in China to persons of high rank, by kneeling down before me and bending the head to the ground. I may add that the Chinese women live entirely shut up by themselves, in a remote apartment of their houses. Among persons of high rank they are seldom permitted to go out, unless it be during the rejoicings of the new year; and, even then, they are shut up in sedans. They are indeed kept so strictly, that they are not permitted to speak even with the fathers or brothers of their husbands, much less with their uncles, or any other men, however close may be the relationship. Upon the occasion of the new year, the wife goes with her husband to perform the above-mentioned ceremonies and homage before her father-in-law and her own parents. She also performs these duties on the birth-days of the same relations; and, except on these days, her father-in-law is not allowed either to speak to her, or enter her chamber. And here I will not omit the description of a practice, which while it proves the excellent social order of the Chinese, caused me to smile when I heard of it. If a man, for careless conduct, or any other fault, considers it his duty to correct his daughter-in-law, as he cannot enter her room, or speak to her, and much less beat her, he summons his son before him, and after reproaching him with the faults of his wife, he bids him prostrate himself, and inflicts a severe flogging upon him. The son then rises upon his knees, and touching the ground with his forehead, thanks his father for the castigation; after which he goes to his wife, and repeats the correction exactly; giving her the same number of blows that he received from his father."—Page 56.

The intermediate party in this transaction would, in our opinion, be entitled to a certain commission for all the *pains* and troubles of the business; and, according to every principle of equity, should inflict somewhat more than he himself received.

We regret that the present work gives fewer details of the condition of the Catholic religion in Peking than we would wish. Perhaps the translator thought that such particulars would be less interesting to the English public, than those that refer to the social and political condition of the Chinese. However, there are occasional glimpses afforded us, which will be attractive to many of our readers, of the state of the Chinese Church during Father Ripa's residence. The missionaries depended for their security on the mere caprice of his Imperial Majesty. The mandarins looked on the foreigners with a jealous eye, and availed themselves of every occasion of poisoning the royal ear against them. The favours conferred upon

these strangers was considered an insult and an injustice to themselves. The throne was surrounded by envious courtiers, who availed themselves of every favourable circumstance to urge their petition, or to insinuate their calumny against the objects of their interested hatred. Hence, the smile which would one day brighten the face of royalty on their admission to its presence, would be exchanged for the frown on the next; and the favourites of the court, to whom the missionaries and Christians of China looked up to for protection, were not unfrequently trembling for their own. In truth, the Emperor seems to have been a hard, and, by no means, a generous master. "Hard work and little pay," seems to have been his motto; and, even when dealing with the brother of the sun and moon, such a principle must have been not a little unsatisfactory. Father Ripa and his three associates, after thirteen long years of service, painting, engraving, constructing calendars and almanacks, and doing all the scientific work of the capital of the empire, received no other remuneration than—what will our readers suppose?—a silken robe lined with ermine for each; and, as a special compliment to our author, a cloak to keep out the rain. There were others who spent their lives in his service, and never received any remuneration at all, save what was to be found in the honour and dignity of working, without fee, salary, or reward, for so high and mighty a master. As they were so useful to the state, and had, moreover, done good service by manufacturing powder and fire-arms in the war with the Russians, it was thought unfair and unjust to forbid them the use of their own religion. Those who were furnished with the imperial license, were permitted to practise it without molestation. Those who were unprovided with that document, were banished to Macao.

The following extract will give our readers some information concerning the religious condition of Peking, and also its spiritual arrangements:—

"On my return to Peking, I established a chapel in the house of one of my penitents, who lived near the palace, so that the Christian women of the neighbourhood might perform their religious duties. This scheme having succeeded beyond my expectations, I erected another chapel in Peking, and one at Chan-choon-yuen, both for the exclusive service of women, who, owing to the excessive jealousy with which they are kept, could not enter the place of worship



destined for men. The Jesuits had a church for women at Peking, but it was only opened once in six months. In other places, where two churches could not be procured, the two sexes went to the same, but at different times; and on the day appointed for women, it was necessary to place two guards at the door to prevent the intrusion of men. To show how jealously the women of China are watched, and how cautious the missionaries ought to be, I will relate what happened to me at Chan-choon-yuen. One day when I was in the above-mentioned chapel, confessing in turn several women who were behind a curtain, I observed a man passing to and fro before the door, and watching my actions. When my duty was over, I asked the beadle who the man was and what he wanted; and he replied with a smile, that he was a heathen lately married to a Christian, who had stipulated that she should be allowed the free exercise of her religion. On the preceding day she had told him, that in the morning she would come to Atso-koong-foo, which means, 'to do the business,' this being the manner in which the Chinese express confession. Not understanding what business his young bride could have to perform with another man, he had given her permission to come, but had followed her by stealth, in order to watch her proceedings. The beadle having been informed of this, took no notice of him, in order that his mind should be relieved from any jealous suspicions. After he had watched for some time, finding that I remained seated and immovable, he approached the beadle, and said he thought we were mad, as we sat doing nothing, while we pretended to have business to transact. The beadle explained the mystery to him, by informing him that the women on the other side of the curtain, came one after the other to confess their transgressions, and that after suitable correction and instructions, if repentant, I absolved them, upon which explanation he went away apparently satisfied."—Page 96.

It appears from the following sketch, that the Russian church has not been idle in its endeavours to penetrate into the interior of China:—

"There were in Peking an abbot and twelve priests, who had been sent by Peter the Great, to administer spiritual comfort to the families of the Russian prisoners of war. As strange things were reported concerning these ecclesiastics, I resolved to make their personal acquaintance, with a view of sending an exact account of them to the Propaganda. According to the custom of the country in which we were, I first sent a present to the abbot, then waited on him myself. I found him courteous and dignified in his manners, and remarkably neat in his dress and furniture. Whenever he came out of the church he held a crucifix on his breast, and the pastoral in his hand. He was a schismatic, but with me he pretended to be a Catholic. He spoke just enough Latin to make himself understood; and, as he told me that one

of his priests who was ill could also speak that language, I went to see him, but all I could get out of the man was—'*intelligit, intelligit.*' The abbot told me that all the Christians of his sect in Peking scarcely amounted to fifty, and were descendants of prisoners of war, one of whom still lived, though far advanced in years. I asked him whether it was true that he had baptized a great number of Chinese. To this he replied, that his christenings had been confined to the families of Russian prisoners; that he did not attend to the Chinese, because he was ignorant of their language, and the abandoned state of his own congregation required all his attention. Their church, which, like the temples of the idolaters, they call Mias, had upon its front a cross like ours, but with two transversal bars besides. They call God, Fo; which is the appellation of an idol; and their clergy, Lamas, like the priests of Fo. They officiate in their church without any ceremony, admitting men and women at the same time; which, in China, is considered nothing less than an abomination. The men remain uncovered, as we do in Europe; but our Christians in China, including the officiating priest, keep covered the whole time, the Chinese considering this as a mark of respect. Although the abbot was so elegant in his dress, the priests under him had a mean and shabby appearance; and I even saw some of them at play in the public street before the church, which, in China, is absolutely indecorous, and not to be done by any person of respectability."—Page 89.

The origin of the Chinese College we shall allow the author to describe in his own words. It is another of those exemplifications of the grain of mustard<sup>a</sup>seed, which the progress of Catholicity so abundantly furnishes in every period of its history and in every quarter of the globe:—

"The youth I had taken with me in 1714, with a view of bringing him up for the church, was a native of Koo-pa-kew. On this occasion, I was pressed to receive three other boys from the same place, among whom was the blessed John In, of whom I shall say more hereafter. On arriving at Jehol, with these four boys, I caused a room to be fitted up with five partitions, each having a curtain in front, and in these I put four beds for them, and one for a gentleman, whom I appointed to instruct them in the language and knowledge of the Chinese. I then established a division of time for prayers, spiritual conversation, study, and other occupations; so that my infant institution had more the appearance of a noviciate, than of a school, as I called it. I did not call it a college, because, at this period, I had no higher object than that of forming a mere school which should end with my life in that same country. I well knew how much that vast field lacked

labourers, and that Europe could not furnish them, the number of missionaries she had sent thither from 1580 to 1724 scarcely amounting to five hundred. I also knew, that however numerous and zealous the European missionaries might be, they could not produce any satisfactory results, in consequence of the formidable barrier of the language; which, up to my time, none had been able to surmount so as to make himself understood by the people at large. For these reasons, and others which I think it unnecessary to state, I firmly believed that it was indispensable to establish in the Church of God a religious community, exclusively for the purpose of qualifying the natives for the apostolical ministry. But, as I possessed neither the funds, nor the convenience, or support required for so great an undertaking, I felt compelled to keep within an humble sphere. My brothers, and other European friends, however, having heard of my intention of undertaking the education of young Chinese, meanwhile had sent me a liberal supply of money; which unexpectedly reached me at the very moment it was most wanted. As land in China produces twelve per cent, and houses even as much as eighteen, the sum I thus received secured me a yearly income sufficient to cover my expenses. Nearly at the same time I also received two despatches from Rome, by which his Holiness conferred upon me the office of Apostolical Prothonotary, and the living of San Lorenzo, in the diocese of Mileto, implying the privilege of wearing mitre and crozier. Encouraged by these favours, I now aspired to extend my school, and devote it exclusively to forming native ecclesiastics. But the malice with which my efforts were opposed, both by Asiatics and Europeans, soon convinced me that God had disposed otherwise, and that China was not the spot on which my intended institution could prosper."—*Page 94.*

Father Ripa accordingly came to the determination of leaving China, and establishing his college where he should be certain of obtaining more sympathy and support. This was more easily designed than accomplished. No European had hitherto been able to obtain permission to leave the country, as long as they were not disabled by any constitutional infirmity; and the author tells us, that owing to his regular habits, and abstemious mode of life, he was in perfect health. However, we find that he did succeed, not only in obtaining leave to depart, but also in obtaining a similar leave for the young Chinese who were to be the members of his intended establishment. At Canton he obtained a passage on board one of the East-India Company's vessels; where he experienced much kindness from the "hereticks," as he rather uncourtously calls them; and indeed, on one occasion, was indebted to them for

sundry pecuniary favours, which he never was expected, nor would he ever be able, to repay. On his arrival in London, after many perils upon the waters, which he has no doubt whatever were allayed less by the skill of the sailors, than by the supernatural efficacy of an "Agnus Dei" which he threw upon the raging sea, he became the wonder of the day in the English capital. The man who had seen and talked to the Emperor of China, who had lived for years in his court, and been created a mandarin in his service, must have been a lion of the first order in the novelty-hunting circles of the metropolis. It mattered not that he was a popish priest. Perhaps that circumstance may even have given additional zest to the public curiosity; for popish priests were scarce enough, we ween, in the public assemblies of these days. The sacerdotal mandarin was also presented at court, and had an audience of his majesty George the First, who made him a valuable present, and treated him with much distinction.

On his arrival at Naples, whither he had gone from Leghorn, he was informed that his ecclesiastical superiors of the Propaganda were displeased at his having left his mission without their permission. This was, however, soon got over, and he submitted to Benedict XIII., who then occupied the chair of Peter, the plan of a religious community which he had in contemplation. The proposed establishment was approved, and the more readily as Ripa undertook to provide the necessary funds. He accordingly repaired to Naples, to make the fitting preparations. But here new difficulties presented themselves. The Viceroy claimed the right of presentation to the college, and the founder had to repair to Vienna, to seek from his Imperial Majesty, Charles VI., more reasonable conditions. Not only was Ripa's request complied with, but an annuity of 800 ducats a-year was promised, and a free passage in the ships of the Ostend Company for all the students. The establishment was, however, reserved exclusively for the native Chinese, or those who bound themselves by oath to go to the Chinese empire as missionaries. But his troubles were not yet at an end. The Sacred Congregation at Rome claimed a right of examining all the professors of the intended institute, which the Neapolitan government resisted. It was not until after seven years of anxious delay, and complicated negotiation, that the affair was terminated, and the college finally and

firmly established, in 1732. It consists of a college and a congregation. The one consisting of the young Chinese, who are prepared for their future mission at the expense of the foundation. The other consists of such ecclesiastics as engage to devote themselves without salary or earthly recompense to their instruction. The students make five vows—1. of poverty; 2. of obedience; 3. of entering the ecclesiastical state; 4. of joining the missions of the east, wherever they are sent by the Propaganda; 5. of stability in this purpose, without ever entering any other religious community. The members of the congregation make no vow, but as long as they are members they labour in the discharge of the duties prescribed by their rule.

The present condition of the Chinese college may be discovered from the following passage taken from a German work, published a few years since, and appended to the present translation of his memoirs:—

"Close to the Ponte della Sanita, to the north-west, on a neighbouring declivity, stands the Chinese college; for this is the name given to a religious institution in immediate connection with the Propaganda at Rome, which educates young Chinese as teachers and missionaries for their native land. A high wall surrounds this beautiful spot; every one, however, is at liberty to visit the church, and the priests belonging to the church perform public service there. We went into a capacious hall, and found some men rolling a huge barrel into the cellar. Well, thought we, our friends the missionaries do not appear to content themselves with bread and three apples, like the monks in the Sanita. A servant pointed out to us in the refectory, the portraits of Matteo Ripa, the founder of the college, and of all the succeeding teachers of the institution, as well as of several young Chinese, whose names and the dates of whose existence were appended to the pictures. After a while, the rector appeared: a tall oily Neapolitan, with mild manners, —a magnificent head for a picture—who made many excuses for having kept us waiting so long. The conversation then turned on Matteo Ripa. We heard the following anecdote concerning the pictures. As soon as the young Chinese are sufficiently instructed to understand their business tolerably, they return to China, and the portrait of each youth is then taken on his departure. Should one happen to die in Naples, he is painted either before or immediately after death. Some of the faces, from this reason, have death strongly marked upon them. The rector shewed us the inscription under one of these portraits, which stated that the Chinese therein represented, had lived for years in the institution, and that he had thence travelled through all parts of China as a missionary, but on the discovery of the nature

of his employment, he had been seized and banished to Tartary, where he died. He stated that he entertained great fears for certain of his young scholars, who had but lately left the institution to enter upon their labours in China. The number of pupils at present amounts to eight; of whom, six are Chinese, and the other two, Greeks. The instruction is given in Latin, but the pupils have picked up Italian in their intercourse with the servants. The rector himself does not understand Chinese; and the new comers can only follow his lessons after they have learned some Latin from their fellow-countrymen."—Page 157.

Ripa spent the latter years of his life in the society of his friends, and devoted his means, his labours, his most untiring solicitude to the promotion of that great object which he so ardently desired, and so incessantly laboured to accomplish. In all his journeyings, the beauties of his own city, and the surpassing loveliness of his own fair land, were never effaced from memory, and his grey hairs descended with honour into the grave amid the loved scenes of his childhood. His remains were attended to the tomb by those who had been the friends and companions of his early years. We cannot close the subject of this notice without availing ourselves once more of his services, to take a parting look at the imperial residence and its inmates. Shall it be, dear reader, at the moment that the emperor is receiving the haughty ambassador of a haughtier master—the Emperor of all the Russias? Would you wish to see Ismailoff on his knees before the court of Peking, chafing the while at the indignity to which Chinese etiquette and Chinese cunning compelled him, so much against his inclination, to submit? Or shall it be to see the emperor in the privacy of his domestic life, surrounded by his attendants, amusing himself (for even the Emperor of China must have some amusement, albeit that he is the brother of the Sun and Moon) in the gardens of his palace, by sending his ladies hobbling off to gather some fruit, or cull some flower, designedly, that he may have a laugh at their many and oft-repeated falls? Poor creatures! their stumpy feet were but ill adapted for running on errands, even at a royal bidding. Or wouldst thou wish, dear reader, to get a peep at his Imperial Majesty—in bed? verily we advise thee to avail thyself of the opportunity, for such may never present itself to thee again:—

"During the stay of the Russian embassy in Peking, Dr. Volta, a Milanese priest and physician, arrived at Chan-choon-yuen, and



I was summoned to accompany him when he was introduced to the emperor. After asking him a few questions, his majesty commanded him to feel his pulse. Dr. Volta immediately obeyed, but remarked, that in order to form a correct opinion of the state of his majesty's health, he must feel his pulse on that evening and the next morning. This being, therefore, repeated when the Emperor went to bed, and then again before he arose, the physician pronounced him to be in an excellent state of health. I observed on this occasion, that his majesty's bed was wide enough to contain five or six persons, and had no sheets. The upper part of the mattress, as well as the under part of the quilt, was lined with lambskin, and the Emperor slept below these without wearing any night-clothes. As it seldom happens that the Emperor is seen in bed by strangers, he said to us, 'You are foreigners, and yet you see me in bed.' We replied, that we had that honour because his majesty treated us as his sons. Whereupon he added, 'I consider you as members of my own house, and very near relatives.'—Page 114.

Little did his imperial majesty imagine at the moment, that thus stripped of his externals, he was to become "a jest" to the millions of barbarians that were looking over the shoulders of his visitors. And here we must, however unceremoniously, take our leave of himself and Father Ripa, hoping that should our after destiny lead us to the shores of China, a rumour of our irreverent jesting shall not have preceded us at the court of Peking.

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ART. V.—1. *The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church.* By JOHN LINGARD, D.D. London: C. Dolman. 1844.

2. *The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry: or the Ancient British Church; its History, Doctrine, and Rites.* By the REV. JOHN WILLIAMS, M.A. London: 1844.

IT is seldom the lot of an author to concentrate upon a work of his younger days, the results of more than half a century of historical research. Such, however, has been the fortune of Dr. Lingard, in the *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, the fruits of a long life of unsparing labour are profusely displayed. The reasons that have led to some modifications and to a considerable

enlargement of the former editions, will be best explained by the author himself:—

“In 1806, I published, at Newcastle, a work in two volumes, with the title of ‘Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church,’ which four years later was reprinted, at the same place, in one volume of a larger size. Both editions, being small, were speedily exhausted. More than thirty years have since elapsed, during which time the labours of several distinguished scholars, natives and foreigners, have done much to elucidate the Anglo-Saxon portion of our history. The treasures of our libraries have been explored, and documents, previously unknown, have been brought to light. New and improved editions of the works of our ancient writers have been given, both in the Latin and vernacular language; and the laws, civil and ecclesiastical, of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, their charters, poems, homilies, and correspondence, have been collected and published, some for the first time, and others in a new and more correct form. When, therefore, I lately turned my thoughts to a third edition of the ‘Antiquities,’ it immediately occurred to me, to avail myself of the additional helps offered by the present improved state of Anglo-Saxon literature; and the consequence has been, that I have enlarged the original plan, and re-cast the entire work, so that these volumes, while they include the substance of the former, will also contain a very large portion of new and, I trust, interesting matter. With the same view, I have added to each volume a collection of notes, some of them of considerable length, appertaining to subjects which I was unwilling, on the one hand, to pass by without notice, and which, on the other, I could not conveniently treat in the context with that minuteness which their importance demanded.”—*Pref.* v. & vi.

To give some idea of the value of the new matter, the present article will be confined in a great measure to the additions in the body of the work, and to the more important of the newly-inserted notes. We remark with pleasure, that there is no token of diminished energy either in style or sentiment: we have, indeed, the mellow tints of age, but no symptoms of decay. Experience has tempered the general tone, has chastened without enfeebling, and has impressed upon the work a masculine vigour without obliterating the freshness of the spring time of life.

If Dr. Lingard does not paint the scenes of the past, this arises from his conviction that such painting too commonly involves a sacrifice of truth. Some, when they gaze upon the past, see nothing dark or uncertain: they can catch but half the import of the passing events of the

present day; yet when they converse with departed generations, their perception becomes unclouded, their power creative; they call up at will king and monk and warrior; courts, intrigues, and battles; storms and sunshine and flowery nooks; and, blending fancy and truth into one glowing picture, deem it their highest praise that they have written history like romance.

Not so our venerated author: the past looms before him heavily and indistinctly, as some grim and ruined fortress in the departing twilight: the outline may be clearly discerned, some rays may linger upon a few favoured spots, disclosing every detail, but all else is shadowy, fit for the poet's dream, but too indistinct for the sober eye of history.

The errors and hasty theories of many that have written either in a romantic or philosophic spirit, may have given Dr. Lingard a tendency to the opposite extreme. Had he, however, taken any other course, he could hardly have extorted a hearing, or, at least, have accomplished effectually his great object, the vindication of truth. When prejudice is strong and error rife, it is no time for sunny dreams; the only remedy is a manly appeal to naked facts.

For great as have been the researches into the Anglo-Saxon antiquities, the accumulation of error has been in the same proportion; or rather, it far exceeds, both in quantity and mischief, the number and value of discovered facts. The Reformation severed the ties of religion, literature, and art, that bound the modern to the middle ages. Estranged from their immediate ancestors, and from the Catholic Church, as well as in some degree from the other reformed communions, the members of the Anglican Establishment have sought to dispel their feeling of isolation, and even, if possible, to render it a monument of heroic fidelity, the only instance of the faithful retention of the uncorrupted doctrines of Christ.

In quest of this *El dorado*, some remounted at once to the age of the apostles; while others lingered among the barrows of the ancient Britons, or scrutinized the mouldering edifices and scattered records of their Anglo-Saxon forefathers. If both classes have signally failed, yet it must be acknowledged, that to the labours of the latter our early history and literature are considerably indebted. Perhaps not aware of the labours of Harpsfeld, in his

dungeon, or else desirous of anticipating his statement, Parker compiled a folio of Antiquities, and devoted nearly one-third of it to the fortunes of the British and Anglo-Saxon churches. After the lapse of a hundred and thirty years, Collier wrote his ampler and far more accurate history, and treated the earlier period with his usual ability. In the interval between these writers, Usher and Stillingfleet published their learned, but by no means impartial, inquiries into the origin of the British church. Many years had passed since Parker wrote, and yet no one had made the Anglo-Saxon period the subject of exclusive investigation. To remedy this deficiency and to rectify the mis-statements of the Anglicans, the *Annals*, ecclesiastical and civil, of the Britons, Angles, and Saxons, the posthumous work of Alford, a learned Jesuit, and the "*Church History of Britanny*," by Cressy, a Benedictine, successively appeared in the middle of the seventeenth century.

During the greater part of the eighteenth century, this department of learning seemed forgotten; at length was published the first volume of Sharon Turner's *Anglo-Saxon History*, a work not indeed evincing a powerful judgment, but interesting in manner, and profound in research. His account of Anglo-Saxon poetry accomplished what Hicks and Junius had long before vainly attempted, and excited a relish for Anglo-Saxon literature. This tribute of acknowledgment to Sharon Turner's merits, is justly rendered by Dr. Lingard himself;\* but the latter merits no less praise for his share in the impulse that has been given, not merely to the lighter, but to the more laborious, departments of Anglo-Saxon antiquities.

When these authors first wrote they were almost alone; now, we have not only the labours of individuals, but the united efforts of societies; and new works of every degree of merit are constantly issuing, to stimulate as well as to gratify the curiosity of the public. While some of these productions owe their existence to the zeal for literature and truth, others, it is to be regretted, display a degree of prejudice and love of speculation little consistent with their own unsparing criticism. Both of these classes have been silently passing in review beneath the eye of a master: the public has cause to rejoice that Dr. Lingard has

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\* *Hist. and Ant. of Ang. S. Ch.* v. ii. p. 156.

had the opportunity to watch the tendencies, and prove the results, of the present ardour for this species of literature. While this able censor, as we have seen in the quotation from his preface, has candidly acknowledged his obligations to "the labours of several distinguished scholars, natives and foreigners;" he has not, on the other hand, had the false delicacy to tolerate error, but has corrected the mistaken writer, and has exposed with as much boldness as a just courtesy would allow, the rash theorist that dares to introduce his fancies into the sacred precincts of history.

A few passages will show to what an extent some writers have trespassed, and ought to serve as a lesson to those that receive without examination whatever accords with pre-existing ideas, or is stated on the word of a popular author. Sharon Turner thus speaks of the writers in his younger days: "He" (meaning himself) "found the references of others so often incorrect, that he knew not at last who the author was that had really examined the original annalists for himself."\* Fifty years have elapsed, and Dr. Lingard has to complain not only that the references are incorrect or misunderstood, but that statements are often made without an attempt at reference. To depict the Italian clergy, and still more the Popes, as selfish and ambitious men; to impeach the character of such of the English clergy as were most zealous for the rights of the Holy See; to represent the English church as independent of the chair of St. Peter, as the prototype of the present Anglican establishment, are generally the striking features of these anomalous productions. Even Mr. Churton has thus sometimes disfigured, what would otherwise have been a useful and interesting work; but in Mr. Soames and Mr. Wright, the inclination is far more strongly marked, and more frequently indulged.

The immediate successors of St. Augustine were Italians that had laboured in the conversion of the country. That such men should be chosen by their converts was quite natural; yet Mr. Churton takes occasion to taunt them, as unwilling "to turn the Roman plantation into an English church;" and to draw an invidious parallel between them and the Scottish monks, who "began very

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\* Pref. to Sh. T.'s 1st ed. of *H. of Anglo S.* v. i. p. 4.

soon to associate natives of the country with them in their labours.”—(*Ch. p. 33.*)

“Now let us test this insinuation by the facts. Aidan, the first bishop of Northumbria, was a Scottish monk, sent from Iona by the abbot of that monastery; on the death of Aidan, Finan, another Scottish monk, was sent from Iona by the abbot; on the death of Finan, Colman, a third Scottish monk, was sent from Iona by the abbot. It would appear as if the monks of Iona looked upon the bishopric as their exclusive property, so long as they retained their influence with the kings of Northumbria. What was there like this in the conduct of the Italian clergy at Canterbury?”—*L.’s Ant. note, p. 74.*

In like manner, he cannot hear of the change of a name without hinting at interested motives, and again comparing the converters of the south with the Scotch; forgetting all the while, that a change of name was no unusual thing in the churches of the west. (*L. note, p. 164.*) One would think he was inclined to be facetious, when he translated “*tabulam altaris vice dedicatam*,” not by its real meaning, a portable altar, but by the modern invention of “a communion table.”

In the same spirit Soames thus interprets the choice of a bishop by Vitalian: “The death of Wiglard was not lost on Italian subtlety. For Vitalian, then Pope, determined upon trying whether the Anglo-Saxons would receive an archbishop nominated by himself.” This assertion is not only made without any authority, but in direct contradiction of the letter of Vitalian, and the repeated testimonies of Venerable Bede.—(*L. note, p. 75.*)

Unlike Churton, Soames does not see in the election of St. Augustine’s successors any traces of foreign influence; does not see anything in such proceedings, but what, according to his own happy expression, is quite “domestic.” Unfortunately, however, Soames, too, has a theory in view, though of an opposite character to that of Churton: in the election of Archbishop Theodore and his subsequent delay in France, he discovers a prudent method of interfering with the Anglo-Saxon church. “As former nominations to Anglo-Saxon sees had been domestic, some doubt would naturally arise as to his reception.” To show the hollowness of such statements, Dr. Lingard has greatly enlarged his account of the Archbishop’s journey:—



"After his consecration the new prelate left Rome, in the company of the abbot Adrian, an African, and of Bennet Biscop, a Northumbrian, both experienced travellers; for the first had twice visited Gaul, the other was now on his second pilgrimage to the tombs of the apostles. Adrian was one of those who had refused the office, but had consented to furnish a competent escort for the new archbishop, and to remain with him for some time, as his counsellor, at Canterbury: and from the good offices of Bennet, who was well acquainted with several of the Saxon princes, much benefit was expected by the new archbishop. They landed at Marseilles, and proceeded as far as Arles, where their progress was arrested by order of Ebroin, mayor of the palace, who had persuaded himself that some political intrigue, hostile to his interests, was concealed under this religious mission. Before winter they obtained permission to leave the roof of the apostolic vicar and to separate, that they might not, accompanied as they were with a numerous retinue, prove too great a burthen to those whose hospitality they solicited. Theodore proceeded to Paris, where he was entertained by the bishop Agilberet; and Adrian was received with equal kindness, first by the archbishop of Sens, and afterwards by the bishop of Meaux. The arrival of Theodore at Paris was soon made known to Egbert, who despatched the ealdorman Raedferth to Ebroin, and obtained his consent to the departure of the archbishop, but not to that of Adrian. In the spring, Theodore came under the care of Raedferth, to Estaples, where he was detained by a very severe illness, and at last reached the archiepiscopal city, to the great joy both of the king and the people. He appointed Bennet abbot of the monastery of St. Peter, which was governed by him during two years, and then resigned into the hands of Adrian, who having at last succeeded in allaying the jealousy, or the vengeance of Ebroin, rejoined the companions of his journey at Canterbury. Theodore, with the lofty title of Archbishop of Britain, made a progress through the Anglo-Saxon territory, and was everywhere received by the princes, the clergy, and the people, with testimonies of the most profound respect."—*L. v. i.* 76-78.

At last, however, Soames fairly made a discovery: the Saxon translator of St. Bede had actually omitted the 25th chapter of the original. What could be the meaning of this? An ordinary reader might have hesitated, but to Soames's penetration all was apparent: it was nothing but "indignation at the victory of the Romanists over the Scots!" But, Mr. Soames, how was it that this friend of the Scots not only omitted the account of their defeat, but the following chapter, which contains a glowing eulogium of their virtues? The plain truth is, that the translator does

not pretend to give us the whole work; but frequently omits entire chapters.—(*See L.'s note, p. 58. v. i.*)

Unwilling to admit, yet unable to disprove, the miracles of St. Augustine, Soames invents a theory, that St. Augustine laboured under “nervous ailments;” that to such “any juggling process is productive of temporary benefit;” that “in cases absolutely hopeless, he probably lulled his conscience under a little pious fraud;” and that St. Gregory would readily “patronize a wonderful tale, whenever it seemed likely to raise the dignity of his see or advance a favourite notion.” (*L. note, p. 100. v. i.*) And this is history! In the note, G (*p. 397. v. ii.*), we have another sample of Soames’s penetration, a sample that has elicited one of the best displays of Dr. Lingard’s power of criticism.

Hoveden and others suppose, that the Deutero-Nicene decrees were rejected in England, (A. D. 792.) The amount of their statement is, 1st, that Charlemagne received from some one at Constantinople, and transmitted to some equally unknown person in England, a copy of the decrees of the Deutero-Nicene Council: 2nd, that, according to this copy, the council had decreed that images should be worshipped, not with the worship of *Dulia*, but with the worship of *Latria*, the supreme adoration due only to the Almighty: and, 3rd, that the doctrine thus attributed to the council, was ably refuted by Alcuin. Such is the whole sum of the chroniclers’ statements: but it presents too inviting a field for amplification to be easily neglected.

“Pope Adrian,” says Mr. Soames, “fain would have won western acquiescence in Italian degeneracy, by transmitting the decrees of this popular synod (that of Nice) to Charlemain. The Frankish conqueror communicated them to Offa, by whom they were laid before the Anglo-Saxon clergy: that body pondered them with strong surprise and rising indignation. It is true, that England had long sought pleasure and information from Rome; she had also looked upon the papacy with filial deference, nor was she any stranger to imitative arts in ornamenting churches. No habit or authority was, however, powerful enough to make her invest with a sacred character any of those heathen superstitions that she saw with pain yet clinging tenaciously to her ignorant population. The papal court was now, therefore, placed under the cover of a ceremonious reserve; English ecclesiastics affected to overlook its connection with the second Council of Nice; they treated this

assembly as merely oriental; and, hence, made no scruple of pronouncing its decrees a grievous disgrace to Christianity, *the worship of images being that which God's Church altogether execrates*. As this language would have sounded in Roman ears much like an ironical attack, and was, in fact, no less than an open defiance of papal authority, the Anglo-Saxon divines anxiously desired an advocate, whose powerful pen might repress the inevitable displeasure of their Italian friends. Alcuin undertook this delicate task."—*Soames's Anglo-Saxon Church*, 2nd ed. p. 119.

"But," adds Dr. Lingard, "was it really so? 1st. Did Pope Adrian send the copy of the acts to Charlemagne, and send it that he might win 'western acquiescence in Italian degeneracy?' For this is the basis on which the rest of the narrative is built; this is to account for the supposed reluctance of the Anglo-Saxons to offend the Pontiff, and their employment of Alcuin to mollify his displeasure. Do, then, the chroniclers make any mention of Italian degeneracy, or of the presumed object of the Pontiff, or of any book sent by him to Charlemagne? No, on all these subjects they are silent. In fact, their statement is a flat contradiction of the whole tale; for they state, that the book came to Charlemagne, not from the Pope, nor from Rome, but directly from Constantinople. 2nd. But did not Offa lay the book before the English clergy, and did not that body express surprise and indignation; and then, to veil the offence, did they not put the court of Rome under a decent reserve, affect to be ignorant of the Pope's connection with the Council of Nice, and treat that council as merely an oriental assembly? No, all these pretended facts are drawn from the imagination alone; there is not so much as an allusion to any one of them in the original document, which states only that Charlemagne sent the book to England, and that it was found to contain matters contrary to faith, especially that images were to be adored. 3rd. But at least the English clergy pronounced the Deutero-Nicene decrees a grievous disgrace to Christianity? No, not even this is correct. The chroniclers make no statement of any judgment pronounced; and that which is here given by Mr. Soames, as the judgment, is partly imaginary, and partly (with the exception of the word *worship* substituted for *adoration*) taken from a remark made by the writer of the original document, expressive of his own individual opinion. 4th. But did not the English clergy then employ the pen of Alcuin, as their advocate, to repress the displeasure of their Italian friends? So, indeed, we are told by the modern historian, but not by ancient chroniclers. Of this open defiance of papal authority, or of the employment of Alcuin to repress the displeasure of the Italians, they knew nothing. They tell us merely that Alcuin wrote, in the name of the English prelates and princes, a letter to Charlemagne, to prove that images ought not to be adored. But this letter was written, not to the Pope, but to the emperor, and was designed to support the objections of that

prince to the council; a singular method of repressing the displeasure of Rome, if Rome had sent the book to Charlemagne, with the view, as is pretended, of obtaining his acquiescence in the decrees of the council."—*L. Note G. v. ii.*

After treating us to this lucid account of the decrees, Soames proceeds to speculate upon the epistle of Alcuin: it could be nothing else but the "celebrated Caroline books." No reason is given; the supposition is boldly made, and the conclusion, that the Caroline books evince the doctrine on the question held by the Anglo-Saxons, is as boldly stated. To this Lingard answers, 1st, that the epistle was in the form of a letter to Charlemagne, and that it was written to him in the name of the Anglo-Saxon bishops and princes; whereas the Caroline books are a long theological treatise in several books, and are written in the name of Charlemagne: 2nd, it is indisputably proved that the Caroline books could not have been written later than the summer of 790, while the epistle of Alcuin could not have been written before the end of 792, or the beginning of 793. (*Ibid.*)

We will quote three more instances, brief but characteristic, and then we part with Mr. Soames:—

1. "According to Mr. Soames, Ælfrie says that the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, 'are not entitled to be read in the church, but from long custom and their general goodness of matter.'—*Bampton Lectures*, p. 103. How such a meaning can be extracted out of the words of Ælfrie, is a mystery; for he merely says, in allusion to the many lessons taken out of them and read in the choral service, that 'they are read in the church to great profit, and very frequently.'"—(*Page 17.*)—*L. note*, p. 317, v. ii.

2. "The letters of Cenulf are described by Mr. Soames, as an application to the Pope, to learn 'whether in his opinion and that of his wise men, the Saxon canonists had taken a correct view of the question.'—*Bampton Lectures*, 174. Yet the cases are proposed on the part of the king with a promise of obedience, a declaration that no man can dare to oppose the judgment of the Pontiff, and an assurance that, whatever the answer may be, it shall be carried into execution. And accordingly, Leo, in his answer, assumes the language, not of a counsel, but of a judge."—*L. note*, p. 82, v. i.

3. "Mr. Soames, throughout his narrative of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, appears to have taken it for granted, that the Scots were the descendants of the Ancient Britons, and their bishops the successors of the ancient bishops. Aidan and his successors were, he tells us, 'prelates of British origin,' and brought with them 'a religious system of native growth;' that 'Diuma and his three successors, under whom all our midland counties were

converted, were also members of the national church;’ and that, with the exception of Norfolk and Suffolk, ‘every county, from London to Edinburgh, has the full gratification of pointing to the ancient church of Britain, as its nursing mother in Christ’s holy faith.’ Now the fact is, that these prelates of supposed ‘British origin,’ were bishops of Irish origin; that their ‘religious system,’ was not of ‘native growth,’ but the same which St. Patrick had taken with him to Ireland from Rome; that the only national church of which Diuma and his successors were members, was the church of Ireland; and that not a single county, ‘from London to Edinburgh, can point to the ancient church of Britain as its nursing Mother in Christ’s holy faith,’ because the British church of that age refused, through national animosity, to communicate the doctrines of the gospel to the Saxons, and continued, as late as a century after the arrival of Aidan, to look upon the Saxon Christians, even on those that had been converted by Scottish missionaries, as no better than Pagans, and treated them on all occasions as aliens from Christianity.”—*L. note, p. 43. v. i.*

Even Mr. Turner’s diligence cannot always correct his prejudice, nor his judgment control his fancy. “When Venerable Bede was dying, he besought his brethren to celebrate masses and to pray diligently for him.” This means, according to Mr. Turner, that “he exhorted them to attend to their masses and prayers!” (*Note, p. 199. v. ii.*) There is a note (*p. 271. v. ii.*) that contains a curious instance of Turner’s creative faculty, and is set off by a still more curious improvement on the part of Mr. Wright:—

“Mr. Wright tells us that ‘Dunstan was passionately enamoured of a maiden of great beauty, of a rank of life equal to his own, and endowed with accomplishments congenial to his own character; and that he sought to marry her.’ I suspect that this maiden, whose beauty, birth, and accomplishments, are so accurately described, is a mere creature of the imagination. At least she has no existence in the works of the writers to whom we are referred for her history. All that we learn from Bridferth is, that, at first, Dunstan thought the company of a young wife preferable to the hard fare of a monk, but changed his mind during his sickness. The lady herself made her first appearance in the pages of Mr. Turner; but where she acquired her beauty and other accomplishments, I know not.”—*L. note.*

Wright’s improvement of original ideas is only to be equalled by his own aptness of quotation. He closes his vindication of the infamous Edwy, by referring his readers to Lappenberg for a proof “perfectly satisfactory,” that

the charges against that prince are no better than "calumnies." This quiet way of settling a dispute is rather unfortunate: "the proof is not there, Dr. Lappenberg has not entered into the controversy, nor referred to a single new authority."—(*L. note, p. 275. v. ii.*)

Wright has another striking characteristic: he is not content with embellishing a story; he is not content with dealing his blows even upon Venerable Bede himself, the father of our history; but he has a peculiar method, not only of putting down an author, but of assailing the work itself. One fell swoop and Gildas is no more: Gildas, a work which our forefathers, both Norman and Anglo-Saxon, believed to be veritable history, turns out to be no history at all, nothing but a vile forgery! But this is not all: tremble, ye credulous children, that have dreamed of Alfred's glories. Glories indeed! he never had any, he was indebted for them all to the pretended work of Asser. At least, so Mr. Wright says. Some unbeliever will perhaps demand his reasons. Wright has laid down six: let us see what they are, and what can be said to each.

1. "We know not," he says, "where Asser's bishopric could exist." Suppose we do not, does it follow that it had no existence? If even it had no existence, how would this affect the authenticity of Asser's work?

2. "What reason could he have had for writing when Alfred was in the prime of life; and for leaving the work unfinished though he survived Alfred?" His motive for writing was simply to gratify the Welsh chieftains, who acknowledged the authority and courted the favour of Alfred. That it was not finished is not surprising; is there no other work of man unfinished? If this objection were valid, it would apply with ten-fold force to Wright's gratuitous theory, that the life of Alfred was the work, not of Asser, but of some "obscure monk who lived probably in the eleventh century."

3. "If Asser's account be correct, we must believe that the education of the favourite child of Ethelwulf was neglected, and that in a court where Swithun was the adviser." But if it be the truth, why should not Asser have mentioned it? Now, that it was the truth, Dr. Lingard shews by Wright's own translation of Alfred's words: "So few were they who could declare forth an epistle out of Latin into English, that I cannot think of a single one to the south of the Thames when I began to reign."



4. "If Asser wrote the life, would he have mentioned the story of Eadburge, so well known to every West-Saxon?" Undoubtedly; for he was writing for the benefit not of West-Saxons, but of Welshmen.

5. "Asser contradicts himself by telling us, that Alfred was cured of a painful disease in his fortieth year, and by afterwards stating that it still afflicted him in his forty-fifth year, and that he had never been an hour free from its attacks." If Mr. W. had read Asser a little more carefully, he would perhaps have discovered that the biographer is speaking of two different diseases.

6. "Asser quotes from the life of St. Neot, though 'there is great reason to believe' that St. Neot's life was not written till sixty years after Asser's death." So, then, the authenticity of a work is to be shaken down for a mere supposition; because "there is great reason to believe." Granting, however, that the reason is strong, apparently well-founded, was there no likelihood of the words in question being but a common species of interpolation, such as often occurs in good, authentic manuscripts, and may be easily detected by those that are accustomed to notice the variations of different copies? But let us hear Dr. Lingard himself:—

"It is plain that Mr. Wright is ignorant when the life of St. Neot was originally written; John of Glastonbury says, by a contemporary. But admitting that it was of much later date, do the references to that life in our present copies of the work of Asser necessarily lead to the conclusion which Mr. Wright has drawn from them? It is certainly unlikely that Asser, writing in 893, should at that time refer to a life of St. Neot; but it is equally unlikely that a forger writing about two centuries afterwards, should introduce so palpable a proof of his own dishonesty. Nor is it difficult to assign a sufficient reason for the existence of these interpolations, if we suppose that the copy, through which the work has come down to us, was written by a monk of St. Neot's, or of some neighbouring monastery, not for the purpose of publication, as books are published now, but for the use of his own brethren. In that case it would naturally occur to him to introduce such notices as 'Ubi sanctus Neotus nunc pausat,' and 'et, ut in vita sancti patris Neoti legitur, apud quemdam suum vaccarium,' without any intention to deceive, or any suspicion that he would thereby throw doubt on the authenticity of the original work.

"On the whole, five of the difficulties suggested by Mr. Wright appear to me to be imaginary; the last is susceptible of the explanation just given, and, therefore, cannot be of sufficient weight to

deprive Asser of his claim to a work which has gone under his name for eight centuries, and which bears indisputable evidence of having been written by a foreign scholar, high in the confidence and frequently resident in the court of king Alfred; such, in fact, as Asser represents himself to have been."—(*L. Note N. p. 420-428. v. ii.*)

Thus, of Mr. Wright's six reasons, five were imaginary, and the sixth required but a word of explanation. We must confess, we were rather alarmed at the numerous array that Wright contrived to marshal; but they were like Baron Trenk's military coats, only hung out to scare a distant enemy: certainly they lose much upon a close inspection. So, then, we may smile at our fright, and still exult in Alfred's glories:—

"Fortunam Priami cantabo, et nobile bellum:  
Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?  
Parturiunt montes: nascetur ridiculus mus."

While some modern writers have been thus busy with the history and antiquities of the Anglo-Saxons, others have been equally zealous for those of the ancient Britons. The inquiries of the latter are certainly not to be contemned, but they can hardly be expected to yield abundant fruit. We have authentic records of various kinds, to throw light upon the Anglo-Saxon period; the simple and charming narrative of Venerable Bede, the scanty history of Ethelwerd, and the brief notices of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; besides biography, charters, and epistles in abundance; to say nothing of the existing edifices, poetry, illuminated manuscripts, and rude paintings, that help to complete the picture, not only of the public, but of the private life and customs of the Anglo-Saxons. Here there is ample room for investigation; but when we turn to the earlier period of the ancient Britons, we have hardly a single writer, scarcely so much as a native coin. The exertions of societies may throw light upon the early history of the Welsh, when the western mountains had become their protection against victorious Saxon and rapacious Dane; but for our knowledge of the ancient Britons as they existed under the Romans, and during the long struggle with the Angles and Saxons, we must still depend principally, if not entirely, upon the incidental notices of foreigners, or the brief records of Gildas. The fragments of Nennius, and of later writers, as well as of the poets and older laws, may afford a body

of interesting tradition, but they must still be considered and made use of as tradition. They may have germs, and sometimes considerable portions, of truth; but who will undertake, after so many ages, to separate this fragment of truth from the accumulated fables with which it is incrustated?

Yet authors are to be found, striving to build with these unpromising materials, not indeed a monument of facts, but a model of the ancient British Church, according to the most approved modern fancies. We may admire such industry, but the judgment that guides it we certainly cannot praise, and the perversity that adorns such a collection of unsifted traditions with the name of history we are bound to expose and condemn. Such, however, is the character of the *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry*. The title-page is blazoned with "history, rites, and doctrines;" but for the fulfilment of the promise we look in vain. Triads, genealogies, and sometimes the transactions of Welsh societies, are the constant vouchers. It is true that Mr. Williams sometimes follows Usher, but he readily forsakes his more cautious guide, for an excursion among the dreamy mazes of Welsh tradition. On the subject of his authorities let us hear Mr. Williams himself:—

"The authorities which may be said to impart to the work its peculiar character, or to form the basis on which it stands, are 'domestic documents' lately published. Of these, if any are more authentic than others, they are the Laws, Triads, and Genealogies. However novel and striking these records may at first sight appear to be, they nevertheless successfully bear the test of inquiry. But, though principally, yet not exclusively, have these documents been used."—(*Pref.* vii.-ix).

We will not pause to inquire how the author can conceive these records to be so "novel and striking;" certain it is, that their application, as historical documents, to the first ages of Christianity, must appear not a little remarkable to all that know their intrinsic value.

Few of the sources of early history are either clear or abundant; but in the Triads there is scarcely such a thing as a doubt; all is known and accounted for, no matter whether it refer to the first tribes that inhabited Britain, to the first people in the island that raised the cry of war, or to the individuals that taught the Cymry the art of ploughing and building. Their astronomers were so gifted

with "knowledge of the stars, and of their nature and situation, that they could foretel whatever might be desired to be known to the day of doom." (p. 35.) Can narrations such as these, and wrapped too in the fantastic form of the Triad, have any claim to our regard? What, then, must we say when even Williams's authorities (*note*, p. 7) cannot assign to the Triads an earlier date than that of the seventh century? And yet, on the faith of such documents we are called upon to believe minute facts, not only of early British history, but of a time prior to the foundation of Rome or Carthage!

Of the traditions of the Welsh, few are older or more deserving of notice than those of Nennius; yet Nennius is condemned by no mean authority, and the precise reason for his condemnation is his partiality for Triads:—

"The unhistoric character of Nennius is more clearly seen when we observe his mode of dealing with numbers. Here he exhibits a truly Welsh partiality for Triads. There are three sons of the Spanish knight, and thirty ships with thirty women in each; Julius Cæsar returns to Britain after an absence of three years, with thirty ships, and fights three battles; the Roman governors are thrice slain by the Britons; Vortigern's castle is thrice destroyed; the Saxons are thrice defeated; Germanus fasts three days and three nights; and Patrick ordains three thousand priests and offers up three petitions. There are also numerous legendary tales undeserving a place in any historical document. A tower of glass is discovered in the middle of the sea; Vortigern's castle is destroyed by magic, and is to be built only by being sprinkled with the blood of a child who had no father. After such statements gravely advanced, and undistinguished by any mark of disapprobation or incredulity, no one, it is believed, will venture to give easy credence to the assertions which rest upon the unsupported authority of Nennius."\*

If the Triads are no authorities, the lives of the saints are in the same predicament:—

"It is something remarkable, that of the ancient Welsh saints we have no ancient biographies. It is the same thing with respect to Gildas. We possess, indeed, two lives of that historian; but neither of them can boast of an earlier date than the tenth, probably than the eleventh, century: and both present a mere farrago of traditional tales tacked together without regard to place or chronology; tales which appear to have originally referred to several different

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\* Nenn, Hist. Brit. 1831, Steven's Pref. xxviii.

individuals of the same name, and to have been afterwards appropriated to the 'historiographer,' the most celebrated of them all. To such works no credit can be given," &c.—(*L's H. and An. of Ang. S. Ch. v. i. p. 356*).

These biographies, then, of which the life of Gildas is a specimen, are in themselves but treacherous authorities, and are much too remote to be for one moment regarded as testimonies of the state of the ancient Britons. But, then, the bards, we are told, have preserved and transmitted the older history. Bards may be serviceable in describing the manners of their own period, but can never be regarded as historians, much less as vouchers for ages past. Those of Wales are in the same position as the Triads and biographies, they are too late; all that it was in their power to do, was to embody in verse the existing traditions. But of what age are their writings? The fondest credulity cannot assign them an earlier date than the sixth or seventh century. According to Sharon Turner, Aneurin, the "King of bards," describes the struggles of the Britons and Angles in Northumbria. Now it appears, that the Angles did not arrive on the north of the Tees till the middle of the sixth century, and thirty years more elapsed before they conquered the country south of the Tees.\* If even, then, Aneurin was contemporary with the events which he describes, he could not have lived before the latter half of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century. As Taliessin, said to have been one of the earliest of the bards, mentions Aneurin, he, too, belongs to the same, or else to a later, period.

No wonder, however, that we seek in vain for authorities among the fables of Triad, genealogy, and poetry. We cannot expect to find more than St. Gildas, himself a Briton of the sixth century; yet he tells, that whatever records his country might have possessed, had either perished by the torch of the invader, or had been carried by the fugitive Britons into distant lands.†

These documents, then, are not contemporary with the earlier ages of the British church; did not exist in their present form till at least five or six centuries after Lever Maur's supposed embassy to Rome. Their utmost value is their testimony of the Welsh traditions of the seventh

\* Ling. Hist. of Eng. v. i.

† See Ling. H. & Ant. Ang. Sax. note 2. p. 11. v. i.

and subsequent centuries. If, then, the times had remained tranquil, and the old institutions uninjured, we must still have received their traditions with the greatest caution. What, then, when it was the reverse; when it was a period of disaster and national subjugation, in which fugitives of every tribe were quitting house and land for the barren mountains of the west? Were these intervening misfortunes, these struggles with a resistless enemy, not for months or years, but centuries, and not so much for victory as for existence; were these circumstances favourable to the reception and preservation of oral accounts of past transactions? If not, then the documents in question, so far from being historical vouchers, cannot even be relied upon as echoes of the earlier traditions. Having seen the untenable nature of Mr. Williams's authorities, it will be unnecessary to examine the details of his work. If we still occasionally refer to him, it will only be for the purpose of refuting, not so much his own statements, as the popular errors which he has thought fit to repeat.

Have we, then, no native records, no native historian of Ancient Britain? None but Gildas; and even his tone is exaggerated, and his information scanty. Living in the middle of the sixth century, he found himself amid the wrecks of Roman greatness, in a land that was little better than one wide field of battle. He saw the British standards almost everywhere trailing in the dust; he heard the thunders of war rolling louder and louder towards the west; and in bitterness of heart he raised his plaintive voice, to bewail at once the crimes and the inflictions of his native land.

Long had the Briton worn the toga, the badge of Roman servitude. But while the Huns were gathering upon the Eastern Steppes; while the foot of Goth and Vandal was upon the threshold of Rome; the chiules of the Saxon were blackening the shores of Britain. Bath, villa, and temple, yet reared their columned vistas among the British huts and forests; but the shout of the invader is heard amid the monuments of Roman luxury, and all lies ruined and smouldering. Sometimes the conqueror builds his cabin amid the ruins, and transmits to future years the Roman name: sometimes the deserted abodes are left to the encroachments of the forest, and the future solitary will start at the sight of chiselled stones and of an ancient city embowered with thorns and underwood.



But whither has the Briton fled? Driven from his home, and dreading the ferocity of the victor, yet disdain-  
ing to become his slave or tributary, he has chosen to herd  
with the wolf; famishing but free, and sweetening his  
hardships with dreams of revenge. If he hears the rally-  
ing cry of his countrymen, he hastens to their standard.  
When the struggle leads to fresh disasters, and the cause  
of Britain is hopeless, he again makes his lair among the  
woods and rocks. But, unlike the Normans, in a later  
age the Saxons came not merely to conquer and domineer,  
but to colonise and destroy: their kindred tribes of the  
Angles abandoned their native swamps to a man. They  
came to plant a new nation upon the smiling shores of  
Britain. With the weight of nations upon his exhausted  
frame, the Briton could never rise; could never again  
speak to his victors on terms of equality. All but the west  
was subjugated, and for ever.

Well might St. Gildas, when asked to write his coun-  
try's annals, shrink in dismay from the task; well might  
he, when at last he consented, forget his direct object in  
his sorrow for his native land. It was at the request of his  
brethren, that he wrote his two works, the "*Historiola*,"  
and the "*Admonitiuncula*." If, in his *Historiola*, he cen-  
sures the crimes of his countrymen; he speaks of the  
Saxons, on the other hand, in terms of indignation and  
horror. British documents he had none; and whatever  
foreign accounts he might have read, he disfigured with  
the traditions of his country. Towards the close he be-  
comes more interesting, and darkly unfolds to our view  
the wretched state of Britain.

The *Admonitiuncula* is a warning addressed to five  
British chieftains, and to the great body of the British  
clergy. The confusion of society, and the depravity of  
those that ought to have proved its regenerators, are here  
painted in the darkest colours.

These works are alluded to, and the *Historiola* is quoted  
almost word for word during six entire chapters, by Vene-  
rable Bede, who lived within seventy or eighty years of  
the time of Gildas. At the end of the eighth century,  
when the Danes had begun their ravages, Alcuin recom-  
mended his countrymen to peruse the works of the British  
monk, that they might learn to avoid those sins that had  
brought upon the Britons the scourges of the Almighty.

Although it is thus evident, that in the seventh and fol-

lowing centuries, these works were held as the genuine productions of St. Gildas, one or two modern writers have chosen to call them in question, for no other reason, than because the tone appears to them to be "anti-national."

"But does it necessarily follow that the writer who bewails the evils which press upon his country, must be actuated by an anti-national spirit? or that the preacher who holds up to his audience the picture of their vices, to alarm their consciences and draw them to repentance, has no other design but to depreciate their character? There is not in the work a single word that seems to betray a Saxon origin; every line bears testimony of the British descent of the writer, so feelingly does he deplore the misery of his country, so intimately does he prove himself acquainted with the habits of the natives, and with the forms of their church, a church of earlier date than that of the Saxons; and so earnestly does he call upon them to appease the anger of God, by the reformation of their conduct; for, of the whole work, two-thirds are filled with exhortations to amendment. Moreover, the insinuation that such a forgery might be suggested—by the hostilities between the Anglo-Saxon and British churches—is utterly indefensible. The bitterness which existed, was wholly on the part of the Britons, arising out of their antipathy to their conquerors: nor is there a single expression which can justly be charged with bitterness against the British clergy, in any Anglo-Saxon writer. There is an ancient document which appears to me to afford strong corroboration to the testimony of Gildas, by shewing that the crimes which he attributes to these five princes, were common among the Welsh chieftains of that period. This is what is known by the name of the book of Landaff, and contains a multitude of entries respecting donations made to, or acquisitions made by, that church; which entries are generally prefaced with an account of the events which led to such donations and acquisitions. Of their authenticity it seems impossible to doubt, though the present copy is of later date. From these entries I shall, therefore, transcribe a few passages, which remount almost to the days of Gildas, and which present to us instances of perjury, adultery, and murder, as atrocious and repulsive as any to be found in the pages of that writer," &c.—(*See Ling. note B. vol. i.*)

Possessing but one British document of real historical authority, it is not surprising, that except some glimmering of the first introduction of Christianity, and of the persecution of Dioclesian, we know little or nothing of the British church before the time of Constantine; and that after that period, its history, to use the words of Dr. Lingard, "may be told in a few lines." These few lines, however, teem with allusions: we behold the British pre-

lates at the councils of Arles, Sardica, and Rimini, uniting with their continental brethren, in regulating the affairs of the church; we hear of Britons going on pilgrimage to the Holy Land; we see the Britons alarmed at the approach of heresy, and appealing to their neighbours for help; we see a papal legate presiding over their deliberations; we witness the overthrow of error, and the veneration of the orthodox for the relics of saints.

Brief as the narrative itself may be, it has afforded matter for a lengthened discussion on two important subjects; the supposed conversion of Britain by St. Paul, and the supposed independence of the British Church. From the time of the Reformation, many have asserted that St. Paul himself preached to the Ancient Britons. Mr. Williams prefers I believe, without acknowledgment, to follow Archbishop Parker, and maintain, that though St. Paul never came into Britain, yet, that the first British converts owed to him their conversion. The reasons by which he attempts to establish this opinion, being illustrative of his method, may be worth a glance, before we enter into the full merits of the question:—

1. Bran, the father of Caradog or Caractacus, was detained in Rome seven years as a hostage for his son. (*Triads.*)

2. Caractacus was carried off to Rome in the year 51. (*Tacitus.*)

3. St. Paul was in Rome in the year 56. (*St. Jer. and Euseb.*)

4. The *Triads*, and the “Genealogy of the Saints,” mention that “Bran the Blessed” brought the faith from Rome. (*Will. Cymry. p. 54.*)

Conclusion: therefore, St. Paul converted “Bran the Blessed.”

If the authorities adduced were good and faithfully quoted, and if, consequently, each of the premises were true and accurate, yet might we be allowed to ask, were there not other preachers at Rome beside St. Paul? The truth is, St. Paul was *not* in Rome during any of the seven years of Bran’s supposed captivity; he did not arrive in Rome till the year 61.\* The third proposition, then, is

\* *L’Art de Verifier les Dates*; and *Not. Var. Euseb. Hist. l. 2. c. 22. Val. Ed. Cam. 1720.* Perhaps we may be allowed to suggest, that if Mr. Williams should favour the public with any future publications, he would confer a favour upon his readers, were he to give his quotations in full, as Eusebius and St. Jerome are rather extensive works to hunt through for a date.

useless; but the others remain, and as Mr. Williams deems them valid, he must of course arrive at the conclusion, that Bran was converted not by St. Paul, but by the church of Rome. In fact, the only legitimate conclusion is, that when the Triads and Genealogies were compiled, it was the belief of the Welsh (and who could know better than themselves?) that their fathers had received their faith from Rome.

Without pursuing any farther the speculations of modern writers, we shall find the whole question of the conversion of Britain fairly and completely sifted in Dr. Lingard's appendix.—(v. i. note A.)

"We meet in the work of Gildas with a long and tortuous sentence, in which he has been understood to state, that the Christian religion was preached to mankind at large about the end of the reign of the emperor Tiberius, and to the natives of Britain at some period which is not expressly named, but is darkly indicated by the loose and indefinite word *interea*, or in the *meanwhile*."—(P. 345.)

By Dr. Burgess this term "*meanwhile*" is gratuitously applied to the rebellion of Boadicea, (A. D. 61.) Gildas himself makes no direct mention of Boadicea. He "compresses the whole history of Britain during the first three centuries within the short compass of a single page;" he depicts the arrival and contests of the Romans, the subjugation of the Britons, and the reduction of the country to a Roman province, with a Roman name and a Roman coinage. Then occurs the passage beginning with "*interea*." St. Gildas had stated, that the Britons were idolaters; now he is going to describe the persecution of Dioclesian, and, therefore, he adverts in the first place to the introduction of Christianity. "He neither states, nor pretends to state, the exact time when the event took place." As he has been describing the events of three centuries, the "*meanwhile*" that follows can mean no more than some time or other during these three centuries.

Two Greek writers, on the other hand, seem at first sight to be of opinion, that the gospel was first preached in Britain by some of the apostles. These are, Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, who lived in the fourth, and Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, who lived in the fifth century.

Eusebius undertakes to prove the truth of Christianity, from the manner of its diffusion throughout the world,

from the small number of its founders, the apostles and seventy-two disciples, and from their personal unfitness. If such men could even gain over their countrymen, what prospect could they have of any greater success? yet, they had diffused their religion through Rome and Persia, Scythia and India; and some had even penetrated to the isles of Britain.

If this argument be rigidly interpreted, it overturns the supposition that Britain was converted by St. Paul. For St. Paul was neither one of the twelve nor one of the seventy-two; but if thus taken in its strict meaning, it leads to the false conclusion, that the conversion of the Gentiles was the exclusive work of the twelve and the seventy-two, and that the "Doctor of the Gentiles" had no share in the work. It is clear, then, that the argument cannot be taken in a rigid sense; it evidently admits of some latitude; it refers to the effects of the preaching, not only of the twelve apostles and the seventy-two disciples, but of other persons not directly mentioned. When the mind begins to warm with the subject, it can seldom adhere to close logic, it naturally amplifies. Thus it appears to have been with Eusebius. As he proceeded his view enlarged and his mind enkindled, till he identified with the apostles and the seventy-two the collective body of their associates and successors.

Theodoret states that "the fishermen, and publicans, and tent-makers," converted "every nation and race of men," and among the rest, of course, the Britons. His language is evidently of the same rhetorical cast as that of Eusebius. In fact, he himself soon after modifies his own amplification by informing us, that the Persians, Scythians, and the other barbarous nations, among whom must be included the Britons, were not converted till after the death of the apostles.

But it is urged, Britain must have been converted in the time of the apostles, because it received the faith from St. Paul himself. But how is this shown? Because, it is answered, St. Clement, the bishop of Rome, writes to the Corinthians, that St. Paul preached the faith to the boundary of the west. But, supposing even that the epistle were undoubtedly genuine, might not this boundary have been either Italy or Spain? The western shores of the latter are washed by the Atlantic; it is the extreme west of Europe. On the other hand, both Italy and Spain were

well known to the Greeks, to whom St. Clement was writing, as "*Hesperia*," or the land of the west. As, however, the fact of St. Paul's preaching is coupled with his martyrdom, the probability is, that the boundary is not even Spain, but Italy, or rather Rome itself, where the apostle suffered. In any case there is no ground for concluding that it was necessarily Britain. The same answer applies still more pointedly to certain passages quoted from St. Jerome.

But again, St. Chrysostome says, that the British isles possessed churches and altars for the Christian sacrifice, and describes them as lying out of the Mediterranean and in the ocean itself; while Theodoret adds, that St. Paul preached to the islands of the sea; therefore, concludes Dr. Burgess, St. Paul must have preached in the British islands. The sea, however, that Theodoret referred to, is, as he tells us himself, not the ocean, but that sea which contains Crete, in other words, the Mediterranean.

To support this tottering theory, Venantius Fortunatus is called in: but he declares, not that St. Paul, but that the *writings* of St. Paul, came into Britain.

Dr. Lingard thus concludes his observations upon the "*Pauline church*:"—

"I shall not trespass on the patience of the reader by directing his attention to two other imaginary facts, the missionary labours of Aristobulus in Britain, and the foundation of the church of Glastonbury, by Joseph of Arimathea. No one can examine the authorities on which these statements are founded, without pronouncing them at once collections of fables."—(*Note A. v. 1.*)

In support of the opinion, that the British church was independent of the Holy See, "history records no fact, supplies no testimony," during the whole period of Roman domination. Had we, then, no proof direct or indirect to show that it was *dependent*, the natural conclusion would be, that it was upon the same footing as the neighbouring continental churches. Stillingfleet, indeed, maintains that it was independent; because it is not known that the metropolitans were ordained by the Pope. But does it follow; that because a fact is unknown it, therefore, never occurred? But granting that they were not thus ordained, what then? In the latter part of the Anglo-Saxon period it was not customary for the metropolitans to be ordained at Rome; yet it cannot be denied, that the authority of the Pope was then fully acknowledged.



"Stillingfleet's argument is based on the practice of the eastern patriarchates, where the metropolitans were ordained by the patriarchs to whom they were subject. But why must the same discipline necessarily obtain in the western church? Let the reader cast his eyes on the map, and he will immediately see the difference. There were four minor patriarchates in the east; but the west formed only one vast patriarchate. The extent of the eastern patriarchates was of necessity circumscribed, so that from every part there was comparatively easy access to the patriarchal city. In the west most churches lay at a great distance from Rome; and the bishop elect would often have had to navigate the sea, to cross the Alps or the Pyrenees, to traverse tribes of barbarians before he could reach the apostolic see. Why, then, are we to believe, that in circumstances so different the same customs must have prevailed? But in reality Stillingfleet's whole argument is an attempt at evasion, by changing the state of the question. For that question is not whether the successor of St. Peter exercised throughout the Latin church the same rights, with respect to the ordination of metropolitans, which were exercised by the eastern patriarchs, but whether he possessed, in quality of supreme pastor, a right to superintend the conduct of other bishops, and to inquire into the state of religion in other provinces."— (*L. Note E. p. 371. v. i.*)

While there is no kind of proof to establish the fact of the independence, or rather isolation of the ancient British church, there are many testimonies that indirectly indeed, but not the less strongly testify, that it was but one of the many branches of the Catholic church, deriving, like the rest, both nutriment and fructifying power from the common root and bond of union, the Holy See.

British bishops were present at the councils of Arles, (A. D. 314), Sardica (347), and Rimini (359). From this fact two conclusions follow: first, that the British church formed an integral part of the universal church, agreeing with the continental churches in faith and discipline; and second, that the acts and declarations of these councils may be taken as acts and declarations of the British bishops, and expressions of the belief and practice of the British church.

Now there is one document at least in the acts of these councils that bears a direct relation to the present inquiry:

"At the conclusion of the council of Sardica, the Fathers sent a messenger to give an account of their proceedings to Pope Julius, who, 'though absent in person, had been present with them in spirit;' and in a common letter, assigned as the reason of this message, that he, being the successor of St. Peter, was their head. It

will perhaps be alleged, that this proves nothing more than a primacy of rank, not of jurisdiction; but it will be difficult to understand why the bishops of each individual province—*de singulis quibusque provinciis*—should make reference or send information to a foreign and distant bishop as their head, if such bishop in that capacity possessed no real authority in their respective provinces.”—(*Note E. v. i. p. 373.*)

It is in vain for Mr. Williams to object, that the western Britons did not send bishops to the continental synods. Before he can show that this makes any difference, he must not merely suppose, but prove, that the western Britons differed in faith from the rest of their countrymen.

The same writer, moreover, thinks, that the mere fact of frequent messages having been sent to Gaul, shews that the mission of the Anti-Pelagian champions did not originate with the bishop of Rome. (*p. 102.*) We must remember, however, that intelligence from Britain at that troubled period would take a considerable time to reach Rome, that a further delay would be requisite for deliberation, and that another considerable interval must elapse, before the Pope's decision could be imparted to the Gauls, and still more before it could become known to the Britons. Was it impossible during all this time for several different messages to have been despatched to Gaul? Or is the act of appealing for aid to the nearest church, inconsistent with the acknowledgment of the Pope's authority? “Might not the petitioners have been personally acquainted with some of the Gallic bishops? May they not have applied to the Bishop of Arles, the papal vicar in Gaul, in place of the Pope, whose representative he was?”

It is true that Constantius and the copiers of his narrative, state no more than the fact of the petition to Gaul. Constantius, however, wrote sixty years after the event, and is by no means to be depended upon for a full detail of circumstances. Occasionally he will furnish more than the reader could wish; but sometimes he scarcely stays to sketch a meagre outline. Thus, he says not a word of those that bore the message to the Gallic bishops, nor of those that received St. Germanus on his arrival in Britain, or accompanied him in his travels through the country; in short, during a long account of the transaction, he says not a word of British priest or bishop; there might have been none in existence.

From the silence of such a writer no conclusion could

be formed. But there is an authority not negative, but positive; not writing more than half a century after the event, but contemporary; not scantily informed, but well versed in the affairs both of Gaul and Rome; it is that of St. Prosper, of Aquitaine, a native of Gaul, and secretary of Pope Celestine himself:—

“From him we learn in his chronicle, that in 429, Celestine, at the application of the deacon Palladius, sent Germanus ‘in his own place’ (that is, as his legate), that he might drive out the heretics and guide the Britons to the Catholic faith. To this positive testimony of the secretary of Celestine, I see not what can be reasonably opposed; and it should be remarked, that Prosper does not make this statement once only, but repeats it equivalently in his controversial work against Cassian; where, speaking of Britain and Ireland, he says, that Celestine kept the Roman island Catholic, and made the barbarian island Christian; the first, by expelling certain native leaders of Pelagianism from their hiding-place in the ocean; the other, by ordaining a bishop (Palladius) to establish Christianity among the Scots.”—(*L. v. i. p. 8, and 374*).

The letter of the council of Sardica, and the mission of St. Germanus, tend undoubtedly to establish the fact, that the Christians of Britain recognized the authority of the See of Rome. We may arrive at the same conclusion by a different path. There can be no doubt that the Christians of Gaul held a close connection with those of Britain. Both countries had long been portions of the same prefecture or division of the empire. In religious matters their union was equally great: the British bishops assisted at the Gallic councils, and received in return the aid of their Gallic brethren. All this presupposes a unity of faith; if, then, the Gallic church acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, the natural conclusion must be, that the same was the belief of the church of Britain. What, then, was the belief of Gaul?

In the second century St. Irenæus, who had been born and educated in the east, became bishop of Lyons, and, therefore, metropolitan and head of the Gallic church. In this capacity he had collected the suffrages of his brethren on the question of Easter, and had sent them to Pope Victor. Yet this saint, as is well known, proclaimed in the clearest terms the superiority of the Roman See to his own and to every other. “To the Church of Rome, on account of her more powerful chiefdom, it is necessary that every church (‘or the whole church’) that is, the

faithful from every quarter should conform ('perhaps make resort.')

St. Cyprian furnishes equally strong testimony for the third century. Novatian, the heresiarch, being excommunicated by Pope Cornelius, solicited in vain the friendship of the African bishop. In Gaul he was unhappily more successful; he found means to corrupt Marcian, the Bishop of Arles. Faustinus, one of the successors of St. Irenæus in the see of Lyons, sent information of this both to Africa and Rome. St. Cyprian was then in the see of Carthage. Did he call upon Faustinus, as head of an independent church, to assemble his bishops and put an end to the evil? Not at all; he despatched letters to Rome, entreating and urging the Pope to do his duty, and depose the Bishop of Arles, and substitute another in his place. Surely St. Cyprian's notions of the papal supremacy was not limited to a barren superiority; his idea was, that the Popes held and exercised a vigorous and paramount jurisdiction.

In subsequent ages there was no change in this respect. In the fifth century St. Prosper of Aquitaine informs us, that Rome, as the seat of Peter, is the head of the episcopal order in the whole world, and thus held in obedience to its spiritual authority, more than it had ever held under the dominion of arms. The acknowledgment of the Gallic bishops, when supplicating Pope Leo to restore Hilary of Arles to his former post of apostolic vicar, is equally strong: "The Holy Roman Church, through the prince of the apostles, holds the principality or chiefdom over all the churches of the whole world." Thus, then, it is evident, that the Gallic church acknowledged the superior authority of the Holy See. Remembering the connection of Britain with Gaul, the inference must be, that Britain recognised the supremacy of the same universal Head.

In the writings of St. Gildas, the only native authority, there is, with one doubtful exception, no reference to the present question. He speaks indeed of some ambitious clergymen, who, dissatisfied with the judgment of their fellows, appealed to an authority "beyond the seas and over distant lands," and who, having procured a favourable sentence, returned home in triumph, and entered into possession of what before they had been refused. The only legitimate conclusion that can be drawn from this

passage is, that Britain was by no means an independent church, but that it acknowledged an authority residing in a far distant land. The only question is, what that authority was? what could it be? what see pretended to such an authority but that of Rome?

Thus, during six centuries we find no proof, direct or indirect, of the independence of the British church; but we find many indications, many indirect proofs, of its belief in the supremacy of the see of Rome. (*L. v. i. pp.* 370-379.)

By the seventh century there scarcely remained a trace, except among the western hills, of the tribes or church of ancient Britain.\* Transferred from the banks of the

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\* The recent *Life of St. German*, a work for the most part excellently treated, lays much stress upon the effect produced upon the Saxons by the doctrine and discipline of the surviving Britons. This opinion seems to rest upon an assertion of Constantine, the biographer of St. German, that "in those parts (that is, where St. German had been) the faith continued untainted up to our times."

Upon this passage the modern biographer observes: 1st. "That Constantine speaks of what existed in his own time, after the Saxons had been for nearly forty years settled in Britain." (*p.* 201.) 2d. That as St. Germanus probably landed in Kent, even these shores "could hardly be excluded;" and 3rdly, that it seems "hardly possible that the faith which remained entire in 483, should have been totally extinguished in 596, that is, 113 years after."

In making these observations the writers appear to have been labouring under a singular mistake with respect to the nature of the contest. This we will endeavour to rectify by a brief glance at the facts. The Saxons, or rather Jutes, are supposed to have begun the war in 449. For many years, instead of being "settled" in the country, they were engaged in a perpetual sanguinary struggle with the Britons. At the death of Hengist, supposed to have taken place in 483, his followers had but just succeeded in securing the possession of Kent. While the Jutes thus struggled for a corner of the island, the Saxons arrived on the southern coast. Ælla and his sons landed on the isle of Selsey, 477; while Cerdic, the founder of the line of Wessex, landed five years after in Hampshire, and by the death of Natanleod, the British king, 508, remained in possession of the neighbouring country. It was not till 530, that Erconwald pushed along the north bank of the Thames, and conquered Essex; nor till 547, that Ida landed between the Tees and the Tyne. Though disputing the ground inch by inch, the Britons were driven into the interior of the island. Even there they were not allowed to rest: they were subdued by Creoda, who passed the Humber in 586. It was thus a century and a half before the Britons were either conquered or pent up in Cornwall, Wales, and Cumberland. It was not till towards the close of the eighth century that they were driven from the right bank of the Severn, and restrained within the famous dyke of Offa. It was still later before the Britons of Cornwall were completely reduced. The struggle had moved gradually towards the west, but it ceased not till the Saxon began to yield to the Dane.

On the one hand, then, this sketch taken from Lingard (*Hist. v. i.*) perfectly coincides with the statement of Constantius. For there is no reason why the words "in illis partibus," should mean Kent, no reason why they should not refer to the neighbourhood of Verulam, and other places in the interior, where the saint made his principal stay. On the other hand, as the kingdoms of Essex, East Anglia, and Mercia, were not established when Constantius wrote, as in other words, not one-third of the Anglo-Saxon conquests were as yet achieved, it would be absurd to quote his authority for a time when he had been a century in his grave, and when the country to which he refers had become the theatre of so many disastrous events. To this we may add, that the struggle long wore a most sanguinary aspect, witness the massacre of all the

Rhine and the shores of the Baltic, the sanguinary rites of Woden had supplanted for a while the sublime doctrines of Christianity. All was fierce, barbarous, inhuman. To the eye of the political economist, there was no hope of present amelioration: civilization must be the work of ages; conversion was not yet to be dreamed of. Yet it had been the dream, the long meditated project, of a single monk. That monk, with the tiara upon his brow, sent forth his trembling but obedient missionaries; and a change, and a rapid change, came on. A procession of Roman monks, with banner and cross, their badges of conquest, bear the "glad tidings" to the astonished Ethelbert. Amid the cry of battle and oppression that rings through all the land, their voice alone appeals to Heaven's mercy; nor appeals in vain. "We beseech thee, O Lord, in thy great mercy, remove from this city, and from thy holy house, thy wrath and indignation: for we are sinners. Alleluia." Masses, vigils, preaching, and miracles, soon produced their fruit; and the white fillet of baptism was seen on many a regenerated Saxon. The seeds are scattered; but a few years, and from that corrupted mass of paganism shall spring forth many a learned, many a saintly character, ornaments of earth, or flowers for heaven.

We shall now have unfolded to our gaze a very different scene from that of the last two hundred years: the reception of light by "them that sat in darkness;" the increasing intensity of the still ceaseless and ever-varying conflict of good and evil. We shall have to behold the savage bringing his impatient soul to listen to humbling, yet consoling truths; to mark how far he tames his wild heart to practise what he acknowledges; how far the national character is modified by the new Christian influences; how

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inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, A.D. 530 (*Ling. Hist. and Ant. v. i. p. xix.*); that there are no traces of surviving Britons in the Saxon kingdoms of the Heptarchy, or, according to Lingard, scarcely any even among the Angles; that the celebration of the British service in the two churches at Canterbury is a groundless supposition; that the accounts of St. German's travels in Wales are mere fables, (*Ib. p. x. note*); that at the time of St. German's visit "one-half of the population were still either idolaters, or men who hesitated to be admitted into the Christian church, that they might with less restraint indulge in criminal gratification" (*Ib. p. 11.*); and that whatever influence the Britons might have, they never employed it for the conversion of the Saxons; they might unite with them for political purposes, like Penda and Ceadwalla, the Briton, but "Penda and the whole nation of the Mercians were abandoned to paganism, and ignorant of the very name of Christian," and the Britons held at nought, and "to this day hold at nought, the Christianity of the Angles." (*St. Bed. l. ii. c. ii.*)



far, on the other hand, the national character is allowed to react upon the external forms of the church; to observe the manners, weep for the falls, and rejoice at the triumphs of the church's warriors, the clergy and monks; to watch the new spirit that is not of earth, yet diffuses itself through every earthly concern, opening retreats from the seductions of the world, renovating discipline, gathering up the ancient literature from the fragments of empires, blending into one harmonious whole the discordant elements of society, teaching the warrior mercy, warning and withstanding the oppressor, mitigating the sorrows and consoling the dying agonies of the slave or meanest outcast. Such are some of the scenes that ecclesiastical history discloses; scenes among which mere human calculations are often at a loss; scenes less exciting but more deeply moving than those of civil history; scenes that at first are scarcely discernible amid the hurry and glare of external events, and yet that have more to do with the common life and the welfare of the human race, than the more imposing spectacle of government and war.

While the old struggle went on between Saxon and Briton, and was rendered more frightful by the mutual quarrels of the invaders, St. Augustine was guiding the efforts of his little band to subdue not the bodies but the souls of men. Many a devoted spirit was needed for so bold an enterprise; but as yet the converts could furnish but a scanty supply. The Britons, on the other hand, were enemies; but charity knows no difference of class or nation. St. Augustine, therefore, concluded, that he might reasonably ask the help of the British clergy. Finding none in his own vicinity, he journeyed towards the west, to the districts that as yet bid defiance to the Saxon. The result of the conference that took place at what was afterwards called St. Augustine's Oak, probably Austclive, in Gloucestershire, the usual ferry over the Severn, is too well known to need repetition. For a hundred years, on the other hand, the details of the meeting seem to have been chiefly known only by the uncertain light of tradition. The answer said to have been given by Denawd, the abbot, is a forgery of the fifteenth century; while the account in St. Bede himself is only given as report:—

“Bede was indebted for the history of Augustine to the research of the abbot Albinus, who collected his information partly from written documents, and partly from the tradition of the clergy of

Canterbury ('vel monumentis literarum vel traditione seniorum, *Bed. Pref. p. 2.*) That his narrative of this transaction is of the latter description, appears from the occurrence in it of such phrases as 'ut perhibent,' 'fertur,' 'narratur.' We have it, therefore, not as contained in any contemporary document, but as it was told at the distance of more than a hundred years, with all the additions and embellishments which it must have received in passing from mouth to mouth during so long a period. That a fruitless conference took place between Augustine and the Britons, can hardly be doubted: the particulars with which that conference is said to have been attended, deserves less credit."—*L. note, p. 68. v. i.*

All, then, that can be relied upon is, that hatred of the Saxon was not diminished by the presence of one that was high in favour with a Saxon prince; that the British clergy adhered to their obstinate resolution not to preach to their conquerors; and that St. Augustine had to look elsewhere for assistance. This was the last, and, to all appearance, the only time in which the Britons mingled in the affairs of the Anglo-Saxon church.

From the establishment of the Heptarchy to its entire conversion, Dr. Lingard has made few changes of consequence: he corrects the idea that Queen Bertha had prepared the way for her husband's conversion (*p. 23*); shews that the French clergy that accompanied St. Augustine were present in obedience to a papal mandate, and were employed not so much to preach as to interpret (*note, p. 24*); mentions the progress of the Scots or Irish in the conquest of the Picts, the conversion of the latter, and the foundation of the monastery of Iona (*note, p. 32*); he displays the fallacy of the statement, that St. Augustine was a bishop on his first arrival in England; proves that his ordination took place in obedience to the Pope's commands; and shews that the reason the Bishop of Arles was selected for that purpose, was, because he was highest in dignity, being no other than Vicar of the Holy See. (*Notes, pp. 64 and 65; and note D. p. 367.*)

Lingard closes his History of the British Church, with a summary of such doctrines as may be gleaned from the scanty work of St. Gildas, and with an interesting account of the submission of the Britons to the general discipline of the church:—

"It is also clear from Gildas, that the Britons still professed the religion of their Christian ancestors. . . . The following attempt

has been made to glean, from expressions scattered accidentally through his pages, some information respecting their religious belief. . . . It appears, then, 1st. that the Britons believed in the oneness of the Godhead and the Trinity of the Persons; in the divine and human nature of Christ; in the redemption of mankind through his death; and in the endless duration of the bliss of heaven, and of the pains of hell.

"2nd. That their hierarchy consisted of bishops, priests, and other ministers; that a particular service was employed at their ordination; that the hands of the bishops and priests were anointed and blessed; that they were looked upon as successors of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and bearer of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; that they sat in his seat, and inherited his power of binding and loosing; and that it was their duty to teach the people and to offer sacrifice, to stretch out their hands at the most holy sacrifices of Christ.

"3rd. That the Britons had monasteries inhabited by monks under their abbot; that the monks made vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity; and that widows often bound themselves by vow to a life of continence.

"4th. That they built churches in honour of the martyrs; that there were several altars, the seats of the heavenly sacrifice in the same church; that the service was chanted by the clergy in the churches; and that oaths of mutual forgiveness and peace were taken by adverse parties on the altars.

"5th. That the service of their church was performed in the Latin tongue; that their translation of the Scriptures was the same as that which is now called the *Vetus Itala*; that they sang the psalms from a version made from that of the Septuagint, the same still used in the Latin Church; and that they quoted the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus as of equal authority with the other canonical books."—(*V. i. pp. 14 and 15.*)

With respect to the gradual introduction of a uniform observance of Easter, Dr. Lingard observes:—

"The conference at Whitby established harmony in the Anglo-Saxon church; but many years elapsed before the question was set at rest among the Picts, the Scots, and the Britons. It is not indeed a subject immediately connected with the present work, but the curiosity of the reader will be probably gratified, if I state briefly by what means those three nations were at last induced to conform to the general practice of other Christians. First. The Southern Picts, or men of Galloway, had been converted by Nynias, a British missionary sent from Rome, and had, of course, always observed the Roman Easter; but the northern Picts, who received the rudiments of religion from the monks of Iona, adhered to the practice of their teachers till the year 710, when Naiton, king of the Picts, having previously consulted Ceolfrid, abbot of Wear-

mouth, ordered the Roman computation to be followed in all parts of his dominions. Second. In Ireland, also, the southern tribes had conformed some time in the first half of the seventh century, at the admonition of the Apostolic See; but the northern tribes retained the calculation of their fathers till the year 701, when they were reclaimed from their error by Adomnan, abbot of Iona, who had lately become a proselyte to the Roman method, during a visit which he paid to Aldfrid, king of Northumbria. But Adomnan could not subdue the obstinacy of his own monks, nor of the monks dependent on his own monastery; and yet, a few years later, in 715, the very men who had been deaf to the voice and authority of their own abbot, yielded to the arguments and exhortations of Egbert an Anglo-Saxon missionary.

"Third. With the Britons there was a difficulty to be surmounted which existed not among the Picts and Scots, that intense hatred which they cherished against the Saxons, and every thing connected with the Saxons. In their estimation the Saxons were an accursed race, the children of robbers and murderers, possessing the fruits of their fathers' crimes; and, therefore, still lying under the maledictions formerly pronounced by the British bishops against the invaders. With them the Saxon was no better than a pagan, bearing the name of a Christian. They refused to return his salutation, to join in prayer with him in the church, to sit with him at the same table, to abide with him under the same roof. The remnant of his meals, and the food over which he had made the sign of the cross, they threw to their dogs or swine; the cup out of which he had drunk they scoured with sand, as if it had contracted defilement from his lips. If he came among them as a stranger and solicited an asylum, he was subjected to a course of penance during forty days, before he could be admitted to their fellowship. Hence we may judge, that Bede was in no great error, when he ascribed their refusal to keep the canonical time of Easter to the influence of national hatred, as much as to that of religious prejudice. In 692, the celebrated St. Aldhelm, at that time abbot of Malmesbury, wrote by order of a synod a long letter to Gerontius, king of Cornwall, respecting the time of Easter, and the uncharitable dealing of the Britons with the Saxon Christians; but it was not to be expected that they would submit to be schooled by a Saxon teacher: his success was limited to the conformity of the tribes which acknowledged the sway of the king of Wessex; and it was reserved for a native prelate, Elbod of Benchor, to establish the Catholic computation, first in North Wales, soon after the middle of the eighth century, and subsequently in South Wales, about the year 777. If, as is sometimes pretended, the controversy was renewed in South Wales after the death of Elbod, it died away in silence, and was never heard of afterwards."—(V. i. pp. 59-63.)

While Kent was listening to its Roman teachers, and  
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the Britons were allowing their hatred of the Saxon to stifle their charity, the north is aroused by the preaching of St. Paulinus. Schooled in adversity, Edwin the Bretwalda listens to the call. In the council of his sages reason itself rises against idolatry, and the high-priest of Northumbria is the first to defy the idols and give their temples to the flames. St. Paulinus, however, is driven back to the south, and all his labours are frustrated by the sanguinary incursion of Ceadwalla the Briton, and the pagans of Mercia.

The south, too, has its trials; and the bishops are disheartened by the inconstancy of the people, and the ferocity of the chiefs. "Give us some of that beautiful bread which you gave our father, and still give to the people," demanded the pagan brothers that ruled in Essex. The bishop refused to impart the sacred mysteries to heathens, and was driven from the kingdom.\* But these trials were of short duration: the southern chieftains relented; and Penda the Mercian, the scourge of the north, the destroyer of five kings and twenty armies, fell on the disastrous field of Leeds.

Christianity was now allowed to do battle without restraint against idolatry, and victory was already certain. In proportion to its advance, sees were established as the basis of future conquests. Each see had its monastery, where the secular clergy studied, prayed, and laboured together, and "even in death were not divided." These "were distinguished by the name of canons, because the rule which they observed had been framed in accordance with canons enacted in different councils."—(163. v. i.)

With all the strength of his diocese thus around him, the bishop could learn the character and capabilities of each, could guide their studies, watch over their conduct, be in every way the father of a loving family. An Anglo-Saxon treatise defines the "daily work" of a bishop to be, "In the first place of right his prayers, and then his book-work;" giving alms; washing the feet of the poor; and practising some handicraft.

"Why should handicraft become a bishop? Because, it was answered, idleness is the hot-bed of vice, and industry the antidote to idleness. Hence, every man educated for the church was taught to practise some kind of manual labour, that it might furnish him

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\* St. Bede, l. 2. c. v.

with employment in his leisure hours, and with relaxation from graver studies. This was expected from the priest while he watched over his parish, and from the bishop while he governed his diocese: nor could they consider such labour beneath their station, since it had been the daily employment of the great apostle St. Paul. Many were content with the more humble crafts; but several practised the valued and costly arts of painting, of correcting or illuminating manuscripts, of binding books, and of embroidery, and working in gold and silver. The result of their labour was generally given to the library or the altar, and there was scarcely a church that could not boast the possession of valuable ornaments wrought by the hands of its most celebrated prelates or abbots.

"2. Teaching was an employment of still higher repute, and sanctified in the estimation of the clergy by the example of Theodore and Adrian. With men of learning it became a favourite occupation. Thus it was with Egbert, brother to the king of Northumbria, and archbishop of York, when his time was not demanded by more important concerns. As soon as he was at leisure in the morning, he sent for some of the young clerks, and sitting on his couch taught them successively till noon, at which time he retired to his private chapel and celebrated mass. After dinner, at which he ate sparingly, he amused himself with hearing his pupils discuss literary questions in his presence. In the evening he recited with them the service of Complin, and then calling them in order he gave his blessing to each, as they knelt in succession at his feet. Thus also we read of St. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, that it was his delight to teach boys and youths; to explain to them Latin books in the English tongue; to instruct them in the rules of English grammar and prosody; and to allure them by cheerful language to study and improvement.

"3. A daily distribution of alms was expected from bishops and the superiors of the greater monasterial establishments: and, occasionally, the feet of the paupers were washed by the distributor himself, in imitation of the example, and in obedience to the command, of our blessed Lord, who, on the evening before his death, washed the feet of his apostles and said, 'I have given to you a command, that ye should do as I have done unto you.' On the Thursday before Easter, this washing of the feet formed a part of the public service of the day. At other times it was repeated by priests and bishops through private devotion; and their example often induced laymen and laywomen of the highest rank to perform, in a spirit of penitence, the same humbling ceremony to the objects of their bounty.

"In addition to the rank and rights which the bishop held in the church, he also derived high authority and important privileges from the state. Bishops ranked as ealdormen above the king's thanes. To travellers from all other nations, and ecclesiastics who were injured, they were appointed by law 'kinsmen and protectors'



in conjunction with the sovereign. Each bishop was invested with the right of inquiring into the grievances of the poor, and of shielding the friendless from oppression."—(V. i. pp. 97-101.)

Occasionally the bishop had to leave the quiet scene of his daily life, to assist at the Witenagemote, or great council of the kingdom, or to preside with the ealdormen in the courts of justice, in order to watch over the observance of "God's law;" or he had to meet his fellow-bishops in council to provide for general necessities, or to consecrate others to new or vacant sees; or perhaps he journeyed to Rome in devout pilgrimage, or in obedience to a papal mandate. On two points connected with the bishop's public life, it will not be irrelevant to make a few observations.

1. In his able notice of the election of bishops Dr. Lingard observes, that

"After the conversion of Constantine, the emperors assumed the right of nominating to the vacant sees, and the clergy deemed it expedient to submit to a less, rather than to provoke by resistance a more dangerous evil. However, the exercise of the imperial prerogative was chiefly confined to the four great patriarchal churches of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome.—P. 90. v. i.

The same remark appeared in the former edition, and has probably been overlooked. However that may be, we should not have presumed to suggest any modification, but for what appears to us a contrary authority, not inferior on these more general points to our great historian himself. That previous to the establishment of the Heruli in the fallen capital of the world, the Roman emperors on one or two occasions assumed the right not only of confirming but of nominating, can hardly be doubted; but that it was their usual practice, and that this practice was submitted to by the clergy, seems by no means so certain. According to Döllinger, the bishops of the principal churches were not nominated, though their election was confirmed by the emperor:—

"The elections of the bishops," he observes, "was left entirely free; but the nomination to the principal churches was *confirmed* by the emperors, and in the see of Constantinople, particularly in *troubled* times, they exercised a direct *influence*. Thus, Theodosius I. selected from amongst the names that had been proposed by the bishops in the synod of 381, that of Nectarius; and thus, Theodo-

sius II. called St. John Chrysostome from Antioch, after he had been chosen indeed by the clergy and people. The election of the Roman pontiff was also free."\*

It is true that Natalis Alexander says, that the Church of the fourth century shewed much deference to the emperors;† but he does not appear to hold that the latter had the right of nomination, and he expressly tells us that the power of election chiefly belonged to the bishops.

Tomasin, in his elaborate work upon the Ancient and Modern Discipline of the Church, will scarcely admit that there was any direct interference of the temporal power, except when it was invoked, or when the public peace was endangered. The people had a voice in the elections of the bishops; the magistrates had greater influence than individuals among the crowd; and in the same proportion emperors had greater weight than the ordinary magistrates. Sometimes the people withheld their votes in deference to the emperor; sometimes the emperor yielded to the wish of the people. Neither people nor magistrates, however, could act without the bishops, in whom resided, by virtue of their office, as well as of numerous canons, the judgment and decision and the essential power of the election. If, however, faction disturbed the proceedings, the bishops sometimes appealed to the Imperial authority; and sometimes uncalled, an ambitious emperor would fain dictate to the church.‡

Of the four great patriarchal sees, that of Rome was, of course, supreme. Now if the emperors neglected to interfere in the elections to the inferior sees, and gave their attention only to the greater, we might infer, that Rome being the most important would furnish the most numerous instances of their imagined right. Let us, then, take Rome as a specimen. As long as no disturbance occurs, we may suppose the elections to have proceeded in the ordinary way. What that ordinary way was may be judged from incidental notices.

Of about sixteen Popes who ruled the church, from the accession of Constantine to the fall of Rome, a period of about 170 years, two-thirds occur in the ample narrative of Baronius and his commentators, without any other notice

\* Döll. v. 2. p. 206. Eng. Ed.

† See. iv. c. 5.

‡ Thom. Nov. and Vet. Disc. pars. 2. l. 2. c. 6; and p. l. l. 2. c. 19.

than the fact, that they were substituted for their respective predecessors. From the remainder we may strike off those that reigned in the time of Constantius; for it was a time of persecution, and, therefore, an exception to all ordinary rule or practice. Yet even he offered no molestation to the western church before the death of Magnentius the usurper.\* Before that event, however, he had displaced St. Athanasius from the see of Alexandria, and St. Paul from that of Constantinople. Need we mention the reclamations then made; the councils that were called; the appeals to the Pope, and the decisions given at Rome and finally enforced? After the death of Magnentius, Constantius no longer feared to avow himself the advocate of Arianism, and began to treat the church in the west, as well as in the east, as if it were part of his empire. Is it surprising that such a man should interfere in elections, when he attempted to dictate to councils? A synod at Milan (A.D. 355), consisting of more than three hundred bishops, had the option given them, of either signing an Arian document, or subscribing to the condemnation of St. Athanasius. The bishops, headed by the legates, refused both. "My will ought to be the rule," said this model of our Eighth Henry: "obey, or to exile." The intrepid bishops reminded him of the day of judgment; but he heeded not: his drawn sword, his furious gestures, his orders to his guard to hurry some out to instant execution, told that the days of persecution had returned. Torture or exile was the lot of every one that still dared to resist. The persecution was hottest in the patriarchate of Alexandria: monasteries were destroyed; priests and monks were loaded with chains and thrown into prison; and no less than thirty sees at once were deprived of their bishops. In short, till 361, the period of the sudden death of Constantius, it was one continual scene of violence. His attitude was that of a relentless persecutor: that of the church was nearly the same as under the pagan emperors; meek endurance, but no submission. Of the attempt of such a one to intrude Felix into the place of Pope Liberius, we need say nothing; it speaks for itself; and was boldly resisted by the great body of the Roman clergy and people.†

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\* Baronius, an. 352, ii. corr. by Pag.

† Fleury, Hist. Ecc. Mid. 3rd cent. passim.

With respect, then, to the Popes, from the death of this tyrant: never was there a better opportunity for internal interference, than in the unhappy sedition at the election of St. Damasus, the successor of Liberius, (A.D. 367). Ammianus tells us, that it arrived at such a height that in one church there were 137 Christians killed.\* Yet nothing was done; the Roman prefect attempted to appease the disturbance, but, not succeeding, withdrew to the suburbs.

In 384 the same factions broke out under the anti-pope Ursicinus. On this occasion Valentinian, the emperor, wrote to the city-prefect, but for what purpose? Was it to chastise the people for quarrelling about nothing, since the emperor, not they, had the right to nominate? So far from it, Valentinian himself tells us, that the people exercised the right of choice: "We have no doubt that it is the purpose of the Roman people to preserve the peace of the eternal city, and to choose the best pontiff (or priest), &c." He adds, that as they have chosen Siricius, and complained of Ursinus, he orders the prefect to take care that the former should continue.†

In 418, at the death of Zosimus, another dispute arises about the papal election. A small portion of the clergy preferred Eulalius, the rest Boniface. Symmachus, who was now the prefect of Rome, sends word to the emperor, not, however, to urge his master to vindicate his right, but endeavouring, by a false account of the election, to gain his approbation of Eulalius, whom he represents as lawful Pope. The emperor called a synod, and enforced its sentence in favour of Boniface.‡

At the death of Sextus, the Roman church awaited the return of Leo the deacon, whose election it had unanimously determined upon. For more than forty days it patiently expected his return, "as if his coming had been so long in order to prove the merit of the person elected, and the judgment of his electors."§ These electors were certainly not the emperor, but the clergy and people that composed the Roman church.

The reigns of Hilary, Simplicius, and Felix II. carry us into the period of Odoacer and his barbarians; and contain no circumstance referring to the present question.

From this hasty glance at the election of the Popes in

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\* Ap. Bar. an. 367. vi.

† Ib. an. 384.

‡ Bar. An. 418.

§ St. Prosp.'s Cron. Ap. Bar. an. 440.

the fourth and fifth centuries, whatever may have been the case in the eastern sees, we cannot assent to the proposition, that the emperors exercised the right, not only of confirming, but of nominating the successors of St. Peter.

To this we will merely add, that "Odoacer, king of Italy, was the first who decreed that no one should be named bishop of Rome without his *approbation*. After him, this prohibition was recalled by the gothic kings, although Theodoric promoted the elevation of Felix III. and Theodotus that of Silverius."<sup>\*</sup>

2. A few circumstances referring, not to the bishops in general, but to the Anglo-Saxon prelates in particular, still remain to be noticed. These occurred at the celebrated Council of Cloveshoe, which was attended by the bishops of the province of Canterbury. The archbishop opened the proceedings, by reading letters which he had received, according to his own expression, "from the apostolic lord—Pope Zachary." The bishops declared, that in obedience to the commands of the Pope, and terrified by his threat of excommunication, they had turned their attention to the canons of Pope Gregory and the holy fathers, and had resolved to begin a reformation in good earnest, to refrain from secular pursuits, and to restrict themselves entirely to their pastoral duties.

A theory has been constructed by modern writers, that this council refused to promise obedience to the Pope; and declared that appeals should be made, in the last resort, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. There being no ground for these fancies, we will not discuss them here.

Being subjects of petty states that were often at war, the bishops entered into a mutual bond of peace, whatever might happen among the secular powers. When unable to remove some abuse, the bishop was to refer the matter to the provincial council; such being "the universal discipline of the age." But as St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, writes to St. Cuthbert, that in case of such irreformable abuses, he was bound, even by oath, to refer the matter to the Holy See; why were not the Anglo-Saxon bishops equally bound? Because St. Boniface the metropolitan, and the bishops under him, were all Englishmen

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<sup>\*</sup> Düll. v. 2. p. 206, Eng. Ed. Thomassin speaks to the same effect, of what occurred before the barbarian kings, p. 2. l. 2. c. vii. xvii.

that had received their mission and jurisdiction directly from the Holy See.\*

The reform of manners was not the only subject of examination at the Council of Cloveshoe. Of all the rites, the most solemn, the most scrupulously attended to, was the Eucharistic sacrifice. However Greek and Latin might differ on some unimportant points, the common resemblance in the canon must strike the most careless observer; in both were "the trisagion or ter-sanctus, the invocation, the consecration of the elements, the commemorations of the living and dead, the fraction of the host, and the communion of the faithful," (289, v. i.) In the early or preparatory portions of the liturgy, Popes Celestine, Gelasius, Leo, and Gregory, had introduced many alterations. These changes were subsequently made known to the different churches; and it was in the council of Cloveshoe that the Roman ritual and martyrology was first adopted by the province of Canterbury. In the north it was already followed by the monasteries of St. Wilfrid, and St. Bennet Biscop. It was not till much later, not till after the pressing request of Alcuin, that it was adopted in the church of York. That variations continued even till the Reformation, is evident from the variations in the breviaries of Sarum, Hereford, and York.—(*P.* 301. v. i.)

At first the diocese of the bishop was the only parish, and for some time was known by no other name. Soon, the cathedral and the cathedral-monastery, were insufficient for the increasing numbers of the Christians. A tract of country was then separated by the bishop from his own immediate superintendence, and became known as the "kirk-shire." A church, a mansion, and other buildings were then erected. At first, the church, like all other erections, was built of the timber that was everywhere so abundant. Edifices of stone at length appeared, and almost began to rival the magnificence of the Roman basilicas. The new buildings being finished, bishop, "mass-priest," and clerk, issued solemnly from the cathedral or minster, to consecrate the church and its altars. In the consecration of the altar, the bishop prayed,

"that God would prepare it for the celebration of the most sacred mysteries; that he would 'accept the adorable Victim, that would lie there, and would grant eternal life to all, who should partake of

\* *Comp. L.* v. 1. 125, and note *G.* v. 1. 385, and note p. 348. v. ii.



that Victim;' that he would transmute by his invisible power, the elements selected for the sacrifice into the body and blood of the Redeemer, and cause the nature of the offering to pass into the substance of the Word, that what before was bread for the support of human life, might here become life everlasting.

"He then anointed, in the form of a cross, the slab which was to form the cover of the altar, in the middle and at the four corners, and subsequently the walls of the church at certain intervals. The furniture of the altar was then placed before him, and he consecrated the linen cloth with which it was to be covered, the vestments of the ministers who should officiate, the corporale or piece of linen 'on which was consecrated, and with which was covered, the body and blood of Christ,' the patene or dish, the chalice, and the eucharistial, or 'new sepulchre of the body of Christ,' in which was reserved the eucharist under the form of bread, as the viaticum for the dying. Several other benedictions followed, of the cross, the censer, the bells, the baptistry (generally a distinct building which included the font), and last of all the adjoining cemetery."

—(*L. v. ii. p. 38.*)

Here a solemn inquiry suggests itself. What mean these repeated anointings; this reference to sacrifice to elements that are to be "transmuted" into an "adorable Victim?" Did the Anglo-Saxons, then, believe the real presence? Have not the publication of Ælfric's Homilies proved that they did not? So it is often asserted, but without any grounds whatever. The works of Ælfric have been elevated to undue importance, by those that think him a Protestant, with reference to the real presence. A full account of himself and his writings was, therefore, desirable, and to Dr. Lingard's industry on this subject the public is greatly indebted.

Ælfric appears to have studied at Winchester under St. Ethelwold. When ordained priest he spent his leisure hours in English composition. Among other writings he compiled two courses of sermons for the use of parish-priests. In these homilies he betrays great partiality for legends, and for the typical method of interpreting the Scriptures. According to him, every event in the Bible has its mystery, its spiritual interpretation: "it expresses one thing, but it also betokeneth another."

To supply an imperfect copy of the Ealdorman Ethelwerd, Ælfric undertook to translate the beginning of Genesis, but he omitted every thing which he deemed liable to mis-interpretation. To reanimate his countrymen against the formidable Sweyn, he translated portions of

the books of Kings, Esther, Judith, and the two books of the Maccabees. His Canon of the Old Testament corresponds exactly with that which was published by the Council of Trent. The last of his works was a treatise against the marriages of priests.

What invests his course with its present interest, is his Homily for Easter, in which he declares that the Holy Eucharist is "truly the body and blood of Christ, not, however, after a bodily, but after a ghostly manner." Whatever may be his meaning, his expression is not to be found in the works of any other Anglo-Saxon, but is copied from Bertram, a foreign writer.

We regret that space will not allow us to analyse the accumulation of evidence which Dr. Lingard adduces (*Note R. v. 2.*); evidence that clearly shows, not only that the Anglo-Saxons believed the real presence, not only according to the translation of Werfrith of Worcester, "the heavens are opened," and angels are present, and the body of the Son of God "is there eaten," and "his flesh is there dealt out for the salvation of his people;" but that they acknowledged the doctrine of Transubstantiation, that, in the words of Alcuin, the bread and wine were consecrated "into the *substance* of the body and blood of Christ."

One thing, however, must not be forgotten; that Anglo-Saxon bishops were present at the council which condemned the errors of Berengarius, (A.D. 1050).

Of Ælfric himself it will be sufficient to state, that he complained of the difficulty of making the people understand his "ghostly" meaning; yet what more easy if he meant it in the Protestant sense? On the other hand, he says, that to move the devotion of the unlettered multitude towards this mystery, he narrated to them the miracle of a child appearing during the Mass in the hands of the priest, and of an angel descending and cutting the child in twain at the breaking of the housel.

Thus, then, understanding the Anglo-Saxon belief, we are under no disagreeable necessity of putting a forced interpretation upon numerous passages of the Anglo-Saxon writings, and nowhere more strongly, because more practically, than in the consecration of an altar. These passages, in their natural signification, perfectly coincide with that belief; one becomes unintelligible without the other. The same exact conformity we find no

less in the practices than in the words and rites of the Anglo-Saxons.

Acknowledging the real presence, in their churches of the Incarnate Deity, people approached it like the wise men of old, and sought to make his "tabernacle with men" as consonant with his eternal glories as earthly means could afford. The two-fold desire to honour this wonderful presence externally, by throwing around it the most precious things of earth; and to assist the act of internal adoration, by awakening the sublimest ideas and the warmest affections, made men anxious to bring painters, and architects, and rich marbles, and other costly materials from abroad, till a native school of art was established, rude indeed in many of its forms, yet capable of accomplishing its great object; and temples most costly sprung up in every town; and if in the country rude fabrics were suffered to remain till the conquest, the splendour of the interior still corresponded with the means of the worshippers.

When the first "priests minsters" were erected, and church and altar completed, the "mass-priest," with his inferior "preosts" or clergy, took possession of the new edifice, and formed a complete miniature of the cathedral. The mass-priest in his new habitation had duties similar to those of the bishop; within, he had himself to study during a fixed period, to instruct his clerks in all ecclesiastical learning, and to furnish alms to the poor, and liberal hospitality to strangers; without, he had to keep a vigilant eye upon his allotted district, to perform towards pagan and Christian the duties of a good shepherd. Nor was this an easy task: if, as often happened, the converts were adults, they had at once to turn from the inspiring prospects of an unveiled futurity, to the dark but tangible and ensnaring scenes of common life; a life of violence, a life thoroughly impregnated with the grossest superstitions. Individual freedom was unshackled by any law; but as the absence of legal restraint gives rule to the strongest, insult was washed away with blood; one act of murder led to another, and the forests echoed with the voice of feud or the cry of armed pursuit; state contended with state, chief with chief, and man with man. He that died in his blood, laughed in mockery of his triumphant enemy, he looked to Valhalla and the daily strife and nightly banquetting of heroes in the paradise of Woden.

For the superstitions of Scandinavia pervaded every age and class: the armourer chaunted a spell, that the armour might grow invulnerable beneath his stroke; the warrior rushed sword in hand amid the tempest, to extort a response from the ghosts that rode in the storm; rocks, and fountains, and oaks, were feared and invoked, and a host of witches and wizards practised their undisturbed incantations, and swayed with superstitious horror the minds of subject and chief. The traces of these impious rites still exist among our peasantry; no wonder, then, that they were strongly impressed upon the popular customs more than three centuries after the arrival of St. Augustine.

While passion swayed the actions, and the darkest paganism the opinions of the nation, the recent convert was always in danger of yielding to the force of habit or example. Hence, the first conflict of missionaries with the new world in which they had arrived. While the bishop watched the court of justice, and if he could not abolish the ordeal, might at least raise the mind from trusting to a blind chance, to some kind of confidence in God; the priest, on the other hand, was strictly and repeatedly enjoined to watch the customs of his people, and to repress the use of charms, recourse to soothsayers, and superstitious reverence to the trees and waters. Excessive drinking and feasting was another national vice, against which the clergy had continually to warn their converts. Mingled with this, however, was another custom, an element of regeneration, of which the missionaries did not fail to make good account. At the present day it would seem a cruel reproach to speak of our illiterate peasantry being accustomed at their wakes and fairs, and even at their daily meals, to take each an instrument in tune, and pour out their voices in harmony with its strains; and yet their Anglo-Saxon forefathers were in the constant habit of doing all this.—(*See L. vol. ii. page 153.*) When the powers of the mind are thus elicited, they must exercise some control over sensual gratifications; when the strains thus eagerly awakened breathed often of religious truth, a higher feeling must have been aroused, and could hardly have failed to reduce at last, within some limits, such frightful excesses as were the disgrace of the northern races, and reduced more than one half of their population to a premature grave.

The extended limits of this notice have, by no means, exhausted the new matter collected by Dr. Lingard; if, however, the reader has learned to form a high estimate of its value, our object is gained. Were we to consider only the aged author, we could wish him now many a peaceful year, in the enjoyment of that tranquil close of life to which, humanly speaking, his labours have entitled him. But when we regard the state of literature in this country, and the noble, but as yet only partially successful efforts to retrieve itself, we could still hope that the dispassionate intellect that has now pronounced sentence upon the works of the last forty years, may still preserve and exercise its vigour for the honour of our country, the safeguard of truth, and the triumph of religion.

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ART. VI. — *A Bill for the better Regulation of Medical Practice, throughout the United Kingdom.* Introduced by SIR JAMES GRAHAM and MR. MANNERS SUTTON. Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed, 7th August, 1844.

**EVERY** reflecting person will be disposed to admit, that a proper regulation of the medical profession, must be of no inconsiderable importance to the well-being of a civilized community.

Viewing medicine as a science, it is one of the most complex in all its bearings; for the art of curing diseases cannot be properly attained by that species of knowledge which consists only in the adaptation of certain means to the attainment of certain ends; on the contrary, to practise physic, in any thing like its higher excellence, demands the possession of a large amount of knowledge, not apparently, on a superficial review, connected with it, and an acquaintance with numerous sciences which exert an influence on the comfort and happiness of man in matters altogether apart from his diseases, and which must be mastered by the physician ere he can arrive at those conclusions by which alone he is enabled to apply his medical resources with safety to his patient, and credit to himself.

The necessary result of this is, that those who devote themselves to medicine in its highest application, are un-

avoidably impelled to apply much time, reflection, and study, to the sciences collaterally allied; and, hence, it often happens, that even where no superior excellence has been attained in the practice of physic itself, yet the devotion of the mind to one or more of the studies involved in it, has elicited many of those master spirits who add lustre to modern science.

But, if it be thus collaterally beneficial to the public, that a high order of mind should be enlisted in the ranks of the medical profession, considered in its scientific bearings; how much more is it desirable that the same should be done when we view it practically as an art!

We may lay it down as an axiom, that the acuteness of men's perceptions, the kindness of their dispositions, the moral tone which pervades their minds, are one and all much increased by those habits of mental discipline which a sound, varied, and early education can alone supply. How peculiarly necessary, then, must such an education be to the man destined to exercise *the profession of physic!*

No mistake can be greater than to view him simply as the administrator of drugs, or the dispenser of those thousand nostrums which our pharmacopœias present in such profusion; such a view degrades him from his high standing. On the contrary, let him occupy his proper position in the sick room, and what ought he to be? nay, what inevitably is he, more or less? The friend, the adviser to some extent, of his patient; in his custody family secrets are deposited; to him failings are revealed, regrets poured forth, and intentions of future amendment avowed. He may become, not unfrequently, the healer of the mind, as well as body; and if all his art should prove unavailing, and the world is receding from the fading eye, has he no other duties to perform? is there no weeping wife, or tender child, or loving friend, to comfort and console? May he not, without infringing on the higher duties of a higher calling, offer some consolations of religion, or at least inculcate the duty of receiving them from others, who especially minister at the altar of his God? Is he the mere trader who clings around his victim when guineas glitter, and coldly abandons all when the fiat has gone forth? We believe *not*; there is something more humanizing in properly practising the art of physic than this; it would be a libel on the profession to think otherwise; but



we at the same time believe, that such virtues and kindlier feelings, while they are, of course, found in a greater or less intensity, according to the *individual*, will generally manifest their exercise just in proportion to the discipline to which the mind has been subjected, and to the amount of real knowledge which it has acquired.

We are not disposed to arrogate to the art of medicine, advanced as it doubtless has been by the researches of modern times, that high degree of precision and of excellence which some more zealous advocates might claim for it: on the contrary, we believe it to be yet, at the very best, extremely imperfect, beset by unnumbered fallacies, vague theories, and evanescent hypotheses, which encumber its advance, and diminish its utility. But however unfortunate this may be, and however desirable it is that the vast number of facts which now exist should be systematised and arranged into one perfect whole—a labour and a triumph perhaps awaiting some medical Newton yet destined to arise—still, certain is it, that the physician who at present approaches nearest to perfection, is he, who engaging in the study with a sound preliminary education, bases his practice on deductions made from a due acquaintance with one and all of the sciences which bear on his calling. If it be asserted, that by holding such belief we go far to inculcate an unwise adhesion to scientific medicine, as distinguished from that which is the result of experience alone—our reply is obvious, and arises naturally from the very nature of the subject under consideration, that what is termed *experience* in medicine, is too frequently an arrogant assumption of superior skill, which, unless founded on a prior acquaintance with general principles, degenerates into a cold and hazardous empiricism.

Viewing the question, then, in all its bearings—whether as it regards the greater probability of disease being efficiently and correctly treated, or whether as regards the moral and social influence which the profession of medicine exerts over the destinies of civilized man—it appears to us clear, that the education requisite to insure its healthy exercise, should not be left to chance, or to the blind caprice of individuals; and that it is the duty of a wise government not only to dictate such an educational course previous to practice, as may save the community from the danger of ignorant pretenders, but to hold out every encouragement to legalized practitioners, and to

provide severe penal enactments against those who shall attempt to practise without having gone through the proper and requisite probation.

Till we had seen the bill, the title of which appears at the head of this article, we could not have conceived that any minister of this empire could have thought of basing medical law on any other foundation than this; and our astonishment is doubly increased when we come to consider, not only that on such principle it has hitherto rested, and now rests in all European nations, but that it is the one also which pervades every enactment regulating the analogous profession of the law itself. Surely health and life are not less valuable possessions than those which industry has accumulated, or hereditary transmission insured; and yet, while our legislature takes pains to guard the interests of the attorney by most stringent laws against unqualified practitioners, we find a minister of the crown rising in his place in parliament, and proposing to sweep away one and all of those barriers by which medicine has been hitherto protected.

In order to enable our readers to understand the provisions of the measure, by which the Home Secretary hopes to attain this singular object, and the changes which, if passed, it must inevitably produce, we feel it desirable to take a cursory glance at the history of the medical art, and the present state of medical law in this kingdom.

Were this the proper place to discuss the origin of European physic, it would be easy to show that in the Italian monasteries, during what are vulgarly called the dark ages, it found its first protectors and acquired its first asylum; and that we can never be sufficiently grateful to the holy brotherhoods of that early period, for transmitting downwards a knowledge of Greek and Arabian medicine, which had otherwise been lost to mankind. While the rest of the world were doing all that in them lay to perpetuate and deepen their own barbarism, by engaging perpetually in ferocious wars, for which plunder and massacre were the only pretence or motive, they found within these silent cloisters that seclusion, quietness, and repose which so eminently conduce to elicit the higher feelings of our nature; and while the main object of their lives was communion with their God, they still were able to devote a portion of their time to alleviate human suffering, and so, follow in the steps of their Redeemer.

The first who distinguished themselves for medical knowledge, appear to have been the Benedictine monks of Salerno. They betook themselves to the study of the Greek and Roman writers, and established a seminary, which in medicine as well as other branches of science, long boasted European fame. In the twelfth century, Frederic the II. bestowed on it peculiar privileges, and enabled it to confer degrees in physic and philosophy. Pavia, Padua, Montpellier, and several others followed, and a foundation was thus laid, forming the base of that pillar, which, by subsequent and great additions, now forms a splendid structure, which might have inscribed on its pedestal—"To the science and art of medicine."

It would appear, that in the monasteries arose that distinction between Physician, Surgeon, and Apothecary, which now prevails. The monks acted, at first, not only as Physicians and Surgeons, but also prepared their own medicines. It is easy to conceive how the smaller operations of surgery became irksome to them; and not less easy to see how such were consigned to the barbers, who were necessarily in constant communication with them. By a similar transition the concoction of drugs fell into the hands of the grocer—and thus we find a reason for that union in the city of London between the surgeon and barber, the grocer and apothecary, which so long existed, and which, so far as the surgeons and barbers were concerned, was only terminated by the 18 Geo. II. c. 15.

It would appear, that previous to the time of Henry VIII. there did not exist in England any well defined provision for education in physic, or for the control of its practice.

In the third year of that monarch's reign (A. D. 1511), the first statute of any real importance was passed.—3 Henry VIII. c. 11. It is professedly founded on the inconvenience arising from "common artificers, smiths, weavers, and women practising physic and surgery, to the high displeasure of God, the great infamy of the faculty, and destruction of many of the king's lieges." What "the faculty" then meant it would be somewhat difficult to say.

The leading provision of this act, was to inhibit the practice of medicine in London, or within seven miles around it, to all except those who had been examined and licensed by the Bishop of London, or Dean of St. Paul's,

assisted by four doctors of physic and surgery; and in the country, to all except physicians examined and licensed in like manner by the bishop of their diocese.

In this act we find the germ of those principles which govern the charter of the Royal London College of Physicians, granted by the same monarch eight years afterwards, in the year 1519, and subsequently confirmed by the acts passed respectively, in 1522 and 1523, 14, 15, Henry VIII. c. 5.

The chief provisions of these enactments are briefly as follows: The charter names six physicians (all graduates of foreign universities), superadding, and "*all other persons of the same faculty,*" resident within the city of London and seven miles round, constituting them "one body or perpetual commonalty or fellowship of the faculty of physic." They were to be called a college—to have perpetual succession—a common seal—to sue or be sued—to make bye-laws for their own guidance—and were empowered to impose a fine of £5. a month on all persons contravening their authority.

By the 32 of Henry VIII. c. 40. passed in 1540, the physicians incorporated by the original charter, were freed from certain services, authorised to inspect drugs in apothecaries' shops, and to practise surgery. The act further deals with the barber-surgeons also. It would seem that those gentlemen had, very naturally, begun to dabble in the higher mysteries of physic, in a manner considered dangerous to the public weal, and they are consequently denounced as follows:—

"Forasmuch as all persons using the mystery and faculty of surgery, oftentimes meddle and take into their cure and houses, such sick and diseased persons as have been infected with the pestilence, great pock, and other contagious infirmities, do use or exercise barbery—as washing, shaving, and other feats thereto belonging—which is very perilous to the King's liege people resorting to their shops or houses, there being washed or shaven;—No person using barbery or shaving, shall occupy any surgery, letting of blood, or any thing belonging to surgery, drawing of teeth only excepted."

It would appear, however, that this act, as it applied to surgery, was of too stringent a nature for popular exigencies, and, hence, we find its provisions virtually qualified a short time after, by the 34, 35, Henry VIII. c. 8, which assigns in its preamble, as a cause for its passing, that "many

rot and perish to death for lack of surgery;" and which, therefore, provides, "that any person, being no common surgeon, may minister outward medicine and cure outward sores, notwithstanding the 32 of Henry VIII." It is quite obvious, that the right of practising surgery, conceded to the College of Physicians, coupled with the monopoly of *all* practice, which their charter allowed, had been used so improperly as to force on the legislature of the time a relaxation of its own enactments. Men "rotted and perished for lack of surgery!!" This tells a sad tale against monopolies; but it is probable, that one more lamentable still might have been told as regards medicine.—We shall yet have to show, that, at one period, by bye-laws made under the sanction of the same charter, the number of legalized physicians in London was limited to twenty!

So long as the College of Physicians contested the right of practice with illiterate barber-surgeons, and others of their class, it seems probable that their conflicts did real good. But the time was rapidly approaching, in which, undoubtedly, their conduct admitted of no excuse or palliation.

The powers conferred on them were very large, but, at the same time, very indefinite. There are words in the charter which seem to show, that all physicians then regularly educated and empowered by university degrees, were entitled to practise, or at all events, entitled to claim the privilege of incorporation.

But such an interpretation did not suit the views of the original grantees, or their successors; and the power of making bye-laws, which the charter conferred, became a ready instrument for the establishment and perpetuation of a monopoly.

The first result of this power was, that by a bye-law of the sixteenth century the number of physicians practising in London was limited to twenty. By one published in 1693, but enacted long before, they were increased to thirty!! and in 1750, to eighty. Since that period no such restrictions have been attempted. The list of this year contains the names of 451 men authorised to practise in London, and 218 extra licentiates, as they are named, presumed competent to treat the diseases of Her Majesty's loyal subjects, only when they happen to reside some yards beyond the seventh mile-stone, as measured from some undefined spot of what is named the "City."

It forms no part of this paper to enter on any discussion of the long vexed question, whether the college had, or had not, the right of excluding from practice those legally and well-educated physicians of universities, who from time to time questioned its authority. But it is at least certain, that very many of the individuals to whom they denied the fellowship, or whom they persecuted by vexatious forms of law, held precisely the same medical position as those whom Henry VIII. had originally incorporated; and it would, hence, demand a large amount of charity indeed to argue, that the exclusion of such persons was dictated simply by a regard for the public good.

Be this as it may, the result to society or the profession was any thing but favourable. The former, unable to a large extent to procure sound medical advice at a reasonable charge, were unavoidably led to place themselves under the care of quacks and pretenders. The latter found themselves involved by their own acts, in such constant litigation, that from the middle of the sixteenth century, up to the present moment, it would be easy to name some thirty prosecutions instituted against university graduates alone, independent of innumerable others against mere pretenders to medical skill, whose suppression, we grant, it was quite proper to effect. The first of these prosecutions took place in the reign of Elizabeth, the last was that of Dr. Edward Harrison, not above fifteen years ago. Since then the college have very wisely been quiet and forbearing. The controversy, of course, was not confined simply to the courts of law. Pamphlets, satires, and essays, innumerable, amply attest the extreme ill-feeling which had been created by this odious monopoly throughout the ranks of a profession which ought to be one of reflection, study, and repose. As always happens, too, in such cases, the physicians in authority thought, or at least feigned, themselves extremely ill-used by rude assaults from without, and their miseries from time to time found vent in dolorous complaint or ludicrous denunciation. The outlet for these was generally the Harveian Oration, originally designed to commemorate a name, the brightest yet connected with European physic; but here, too frequently prostituted to the mean purpose of denouncing that freedom of expression and liberality of sentiment by which alone the art can be advanced.



The struggles of the college against men equal in rank and education to their own members, were in themselves of trivial importance, when compared with the practical evils, which such attempt to sustain a selfish monopoly induced.

The extreme limitation to the number of authorised physicians, was directly opposed to the absolute necessities of the community, and that advice which could be legitimately purchased, at a ruinous price alone, came speedily to be sought from sources unauthorised by law. The trader, whose province it had formerly been to concoct and distribute drugs ordered by the physician, soon came to prescribe as well as compound them, and by a gradual, though by no means an inexplicable transition, the apothecary assume the duties of his former master; and, hence, arose another fertile source of vexatious and ceaseless altercation.

In early days the college had the supervision of all drugs exposed for sale by the apothecary, or used in compounding the prescriptions of physicians, and, in the event of finding them impure, the power of committing them to the flames. The additional powers of fine and imprisonment were subsequently added; and the body thus armed with enormous engines of authority, failed not to employ them often, let us hope, for the public good, but, perhaps, more frequently, as instruments of vengeance against those who ventured to interfere with their monopoly. In the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, we find several apothecaries fined and imprisoned, for "giving medicines without a physician's rescript;" the prosecutions being instituted, sometimes in the name of the college, and sometimes in the names of patients, who having trusted to apothecary practice, either thought themselves injured by ignorance, or adopted this ready course of freeing themselves from the obligations which they had incurred.

About the end of the 17th century, the call for medical advice in London became extremely urgent. The physicians had then limited their own number to forty, and had fought a most untiring battle against every surgeon, apothecary, or pretender, who attempted to infringe their rights. A point had thus been reached, chiefly through their own folly, at which it became absolutely impossible that society could any longer brook their dictation; and being, perhaps, somewhat tired of persecution,

they resolved to bolster up a sinking cause, by supplying, under the specious name of charity, a portion at least of those wants which their own mismanagement had caused.

Accordingly, in 1687, the college issued an edict, calling on all its members to attend the poor gratuitously: but very speedily two practical difficulties arose. In the first place, the legitimate sons of medicine seem to have been somewhat particular as to who came under the denomination of "poor," and lengthy discussions on the point took place between them and the court of aldermen, which seem to have ended in—nothing. Again, the physicians were willing enough to give "advice," but the commodity was of too ethereal a character to be of much use without those more substantial accompaniments which the apothecary could alone supply; and he, nettled no doubt by previous ill usage, and feeling at the same time this plan to be a fresh attack upon his interests, did all he could to thwart the intentions of the college. The result of this was, that the physician prescribed, the apothecary compounded for the "poor," but the latter did this at so high a rate, that riches, not poverty, could alone command the nominal charity he offered. The college feeling this, attempted to establish a dispensary, by subscription, among themselves; their intention being to supply medicines, as well as advice, gratuitously. "It began," as Dr. Johnson says, "with ardour, which soon remitted, and at last died gradually away." The fact, however, is curious, as showing, we believe, the first attempt at medical charities of the kind in Britain. The dispensary then commenced has become the parent of many others, which now stud the empire in all directions. It was this memorable quarrel which called forth Dr. Garth's poem of "The Dispensary." He was a zealous advocate of the charity, and a strenuous opposer of apothecary pretensions, which he denounced with singular bitterness in the Harveian Oration of 1697.\*

But, despite all the opposition of the college—despite of charters, and acts, and bye-laws—despite of the law itself, which always ruled in its favour—plain common sense

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\* As a specimen we give the following extract. The doctor having already been anything but polite to the apothecaries, goes on to add, "*non tamen telis vulnerat ista agyrtarum coluvies, sed thereicā quadam magis pernicioſa; non pyrio, sed pulvere nescio quo exotico certat, non globulis plumbeis, sed pilulis aequē lethalibus interficit.*" What a blow to "Cockle" and "Morison!"

finally carried the day. It had, by a most unwise exercise of the privileges conferred, so limited the number of practising physicians, that the public exigency became stronger than the courts of law, and the controversy ended by a tacit withdrawal of opposition on the part of the college, and a virtual triumph to the apothecary, till finally legalized in 1815 by an act of the legislature.

We have dwelt at some length on this point of medical history, not because the college has much tended to advance the science which it once controlled, but simply because it has indirectly given a tone and direction to medicine in England as at present regulated. Had the college, in its earlier days, been more liberal in its dealings, and less actuated by the spirit of a selfish monopoly—had it thrown open its doors more widely to the admission of men in every way fit to be received into its fellowship—it might at the same moment have afforded ample protection to the public, and elevated the general standard of medical thought and feeling throughout the nation.

Having chosen the opposite course, and by so doing raised the honorarium, or fee, to a point too extravagant for the majority of patients, it necessarily drove the public to seek assistance and advice in other quarters; and thus paved the way, by its own acts, for the acquisition of legal rights of practice, by those against whom it had so long but ineffectually contended.

The Apothecary Act of 1815, called into being by the causes referred to, is by far the most practically influential which we now possess. But it applies to England and Wales alone, leaving the two sister kingdoms to be governed by their own medical authorities. Out of this have sprung not a few of those absurd anomalies which meet us as we proceed at every turn—anomalies which must be removed by any comprehensive reform at all suited to the wants and well-being of the empire at the present time. Let us briefly advert to the provisions of the Apothecary Act. The accessaries required for a licence are, 1st. an apprenticeship of five years; 2nd. proofs of a certain education, to be from time to time defined by authorities who administer the affairs of the company; and 3rd. an examination of such a nature as they may require.

The powers granted to the company are extensive. They can prosecute and fine all persons at once prescribing and supplying drugs, unless under the sanction of their

licence; and, in short, exercise a very strict control over the entire apothecary practice of England and Wales. The advantages conferred by their license are, legality of practice; the power of bringing actions in a court of law for medicines supplied, a privilege denied the unlicensed man, however high his standing, or superior his education; and the exclusion from all public appointments, within reach of the apothecary, of all practitioners whose names do not figure in the company's list.

The act applies, as we have said, to England and Wales alone, and through it arises one important cause of the anomalies which now beset us as a nation. Great Britain, though now an empire, governed by the same sovereign, legislated for by the same parliament, and in all substantial respects protected by the same laws, is a compound of what were once three distinct nations. But this, as we well know, was not always so; and each element in the triple union formerly possessed medical colleges of its own, which still retain their local authority, and therefore clash at every turn.

The United Kingdom has, in all, sixteen distinct medical institutions, authorized by law to grant degrees, diplomas, or licenses.

Of these, England possesses six, namely:—the three Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London; the Royal College of Physicians; the Royal College of Surgeons; and the Apothecaries' Company.

Scotland has six also, namely:—the Universities of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews; the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow; the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh; and the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh.

Ireland has only four:—Trinity College; the Royal College of Physicians; the College of Surgeons; and the Apothecaries' Company.

Of those sixteen bodies, eight are invested with the privilege of conferring collegiate degrees; three exercise the right of re-examining and licensing individuals, possessed of degrees, to practise in certain localities; two are empowered to examine and license persons intending to practise as apothecaries; and three preside over the surgical department of the art. It is out of the collisions of these various establishments that the anomalies we have hinted at spring. On plain common-sense principles one would

conclude, that the lives and limbs of Her Majesty's subjects were equally dear to her, in all parts and portions of the empire; and that the man, judged legally competent to deal with them in one locality, was equally so in any other. For example, we might reasonably fancy, that a person fully authorized to prescribe for diseases, and practise pharmacy, in Scotland or Ireland, should not be liable to prosecution if he ventured to do so for the inhabitants of England; and that he, possessed of the highest degree in physic, and supposed to luxuriate in an amount of medical lore far beyond his neighbour, should not actually find himself a delinquent, if he dared to gratify his patient with a pill or potion of his own compounding.

Yet these, and many such examples of jarring interests, are involved in our national medical law as it at present stands; and we believe it to be one among the few merits of Sir James Graham's Bill, that it goes some way to reconcile them. At present, for example, a man may graduate in medicine at Trinity College, Dublin, after devoting much money, time, and toil, to the acquisition of what, by a beautiful fiction, is termed the "*Summi honores*" of his profession. His *own* College of Physicians will not admit him without another examination (often nominal,) but another fee (always real!) The same occurs in Edinburgh when dealing with physicians. The London College have for centuries held a similar course. The Dublin, Edinburgh, or English graduates cannot (they say) legally practise in London, or its vicinity, independent of their license, consequently independent of their fee.

The same principle pervades, only more absurdly, both surgery and pharmacy. The diploma of the Edinburgh College of Surgeons informs its possessor, that he may practise pharmacy, as well as surgery, "*her totum orbem.*" He settles in England or Ireland, and their respective Apothecary Companies haunt him at every turn; even the graduate, the man of "*Summi honores,*" dares not to supply (legally) a blister or a pill. In short, look where we may, the unhappy aspirant in medicine, in surgery, or pharmacy, is tortured, and snubbed, and impeded at every turn by the sixteen licensing bodies, which seem as if created to obstruct his course by their endless collisions. Such absurdities cried out loudly for change, and such change the Government Bill would, in a considerable de-

gree, effect. Had all its provisions been equally useful, it would have met with our cordial approbation.

For very many years back the question of medical reform had been agitated both within and without the walls of parliament. The general professional opinion was, that some considerable changes were required; and, from the unhappy divisions among its various ranks and disunited corporations, a growing conviction existed, that this might best be accomplished by Government itself maturing the measure. The pompous committee, called into existence some ten years ago by the evanescent zeal of Mr. Warburton, had long since concluded its unproductive toils, and merely transferred to the archives of the House of Commons a voluminous series of examinations, which go far to demonstrate the extreme incompetency of nearly all the medical and surgical corporations of the nation. In this state of affairs the professional cry for reform increased more and more, till it absolutely forced itself on the minister's attention. Promise after promise was given by him from his place in parliament, question after question was put by the very few men within it, who take the least interest in medical affairs: now, a measure was to be placed on the table before Christmas; now, before Easter; then, public business pressed, and a later time was named: till at length, at all but the end of a busy session, this memorable bill was thrown down as a sop to the medical Cerberus.

It is now understood, that Sir J. Graham did not prepare it single-handed, but was aided by some of the most eminent members of the profession, and that previously to its being laid before parliament, it had received the sanction of many of our corporate bodies; and, should this require confirmation, we fear it may be found in the speech of the Right Honourable Member for Edinburgh on the night of its introduction. We could have wished that a school, boasting the names of Cullen, Black, and Gregory, had abstained from lending itself to a measure, certainly vicious in principle, and likely, in practice, to prove adverse to the true interests both of the profession and the community.

The bill now before us begins by repealing very many of the acts by which medicine is at present regulated; and, among others, in a great degree, the Apothecaries' Act of 1815. Every efficient protection which the public



or the profession now enjoy, against ignorant empiricism, being thus removed, it proceeds to develope Sir James Graham's favourite scheme for the construction of a "Council of Health and Medical Education."

This body is to consist of eighteen members, selected in the following manner:—A Secretary of State for the time being, President. The Regius Professors of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, who hold the office in virtue of their position. The various Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, in each of the three capitals send severally one member. These, forming part of the *first* council, are to be chosen by Her Majesty, with the advice of Her Privy Council; and are to hold office for three years. One physician and one surgeon then goes out of office, and two more each of the following two years, "in such order as Her Majesty may direct." At the end of the third year, something like the shadow of an elective principle is to be introduced. The said Colleges are *then* to appoint their own delegates, but "subject to the approval of Her Majesty," who, honoured Lady, is not at this period, as appears by the Bill, to be even comforted by the advice of Her Honourable Privy Council. (s. 5.) The enactment further provides, that *six other persons*, whom Her Majesty, with "*the advice*," &c., may approve, are to form the remaining members. Whether those lay brothers are to know any thing of medicine or its affairs, is left entirely undecided. Considering the ignorance which characterises the whole measure, we can scarce wonder at the omission.

By the sixth clause it is enacted, that elections by the various colleges shall be effected under the sanction of bye-laws of their own; but as such bye-laws are of no effect until approved by the central council, or, in other words, by the crown or its representatives, we need not much dread the extreme extension of franchise which those institutions will be permitted to exercise.

Another clause confers at once the glorious personal privilege of resignation, and the very convenient one of dismissal by Her Majesty or her secretary, on any such grounds as may seem to them fit and proper.

Another very interesting clause, because patronage and patronage only can be at the bottom of it, is the eighth. By this it is enacted (virtually), that "The principal secretary!" "The local secretaries for Ireland and Scot-

land!" "The clerks and messengers!" so many "*as the secretary of state may deem necessary*," are to be appointed by "*the secretary of state*," and removed at his pleasure; and that all salaries and travelling expenses are to be fixed and paid by the "lord high treasurer, or commissioners of Her Majesty's treasury." It is not very difficult to know what all this means.

That the elective principle may in every shape and form be denied to the profession, already fermenting throughout its entire mass, we at last arrive at the climax of this very extraordinary bill. Sir James Graham cannot even trust the election of their vice-president to his semi-doctorial council. Having before, as we have seen, constituted himself president, and that with *two votes* in the event of need, he acquires vigour by progression; and we now find him, in the tenth clause, asserting his power of nominating the vice-president, leaving it to this miserable council to elect their own only when he or his friend happen to be absent. It seems probable, that the "central council" will not frequently be called on to exercise the very liberal franchise here conceded. The council is to meet at such times, and in such places as "the secretary of state" may appoint. Seven members form a quorum, and all disputed questions are to be determined by the majority of votes, the president possessing the casting one in event of equality. Minutes are to be kept, subject to the inspection of any person or committee appointed by the various colleges.

The functions to be exercised by the central board are extensive and numerous. It is to keep and publish each year a register of all persons duly authorized to practise, and to supervise the course of education dictated by each college or university.

The bill recognises three grades, Physician, Surgeon, and "Licentiate in medicine and surgery." The two first are conventional terms sufficiently defined—the latter is a new one, but in reality means what is now understood by the term *general practitioner*. Any one wishing to register, pays £5. as a Physician or Surgeon, and £2. as a Licentiate. The cash, of course, defrays the expenses of "this act." In other words, the profession is taxed to support a proposition, which at once goes to diminish its respectability, and degrade the science out of which its members spring, and which they, at least, ought to honour and revere.

Licentiates must be twenty-one years of age before they can claim registration, and exhibit their letters testimonial from some one or other of the authorised colleges. A man desirous of practising surgery alone, or, as the term now goes, a *pure surgeon*, must be twenty-five years of age before registration, and conform to the same rule. In the case of a physician, he cannot demand registration under the age of twenty-six, and then only if he has graduated in some British university, and been approved of besides by one or other of the three colleges of physicians. The graduate of a foreign university is still worse off. He cannot register till he is actually forty years of age, two-thirds of a common life, and been examined by the Royal College of Physicians of London, who are only entitled to examine him at all, on a certificate granted either by themselves or their sister corporations of Dublin or Edinburgh, that the degree was conferred after a certain course of education and residence in the university which conferred it; and this must be made out in a satisfactory manner to the "central council."

We interpret this clause (16), as a decided blow at the different colleges of physicians, and wish them joy of it. In fact, as a matter of detail it is good. There is nothing more notorious, than that one and all, especially that of Edinburgh, which once boasted bright names, have admitted men into their ranks, who, having purchased their degrees by money only, have re-purchased their corporate honours by the same unworthy means.

The act proposes to keep up at least in pecuniary matters, the various national discrepancies on which we have before commented. A person already registered, desirous of changing his residence to another of the three kingdoms, is bound to re-register, and again pay the same fee which was originally exacted.

Such is a general sketch of the provisions contained in this ill-judged attempt at medical legislation, an attempt which we have no hesitation in saying, is equally unjust to the distributors as well as recipients of medical or surgical advice. By the repeal of the several acts and charters, under the sanction of which the College of Physicians have hitherto exercised authority, and above all by the repeal of the Apothecary Act of 1815, every restriction whatsoever is removed, by which illiterate pretenders to medical skill have been, if not suppressed, at least up

to this time, partially intimidated and checked. Here, then, we find, not by positive enactment, but by silent abstraction, the entire domain of physic thrown open to every person who may desire to sport thereon.

Another feature of the bill, which attracts attention and deserves notice, is the establishment of a central board—an idea good in itself, but here worked out in a manner altogether absurd, unjust, and dangerous. It has ever been conventionally admitted in this country, indeed by all civilized nations, that the members of every profession should be more or less under the control of the law—educated as the law directs—applying that education afterwards as it dictates. With us this principle has up to this moment pervaded medicine. It is, then, a curious question, on what possible principle, and by what peculiar train of reasoning, any man should arrive at the conclusion, that medicine, and medicine only, should *now* be made an exception to this prevailing rule. It is one of the most difficult of all human sciences to master—it is one of the most important in human affairs—it is one whose *morale* it is desirable to support for the benefit of all parties—it is one of which even the educated portion of society are lamentably ignorant, and, consequently, have a right to demand some legal protection for their ignorance—finally, it is one which a large mass of men have toiled to compass, on the understanding that their interests were protected by laws guaranteed by the legislature; but which, they now feel with indignation, are about to be subverted in open defiance of common sense and common justice.

Men of plain understanding might conceive the above and many other arguments readily adduceable, sufficiently obvious, and sufficiently strong, to have prevented such an attempt as is now making. But Sir James Graham and his friends, we must presume, are more highly gifted; they see things with a clearer, a more intellectual vision, and propound, on more occasions than the present, new and strange doctrines which bewilder the weaker brains of weaker men. Still we may, in all humility, venture to survey the arguments by which this notable proposition is supported.

They are, in point of fact, few and simple. We are informed, that mankind are fond of quackery—that their being cheated in physic is a real pleasure—that all attempts to counteract the tendency have proved abortive,

and will continue so—and that, hence, the legislature had better leave them to their own devices, and abstain from further interference.

The novelty of this idea quite perplexed us, and we instantly rushed to consider, whether it might not be better also to do away with all restrictions on murder, robbery, theft, and some dozen other gentle vices. Quackery often murders its victim, though not perhaps in a legal sense, and by no means unfrequently robs him; or should neither results instantly follow, at all events generally dooms him to a future life of misery, discomfort, and woe. Surely, then, it is not quite fair that the empiric should go unscathed, when the homicide or robber is visited with the highest penalties of law!

Sir James Graham's argument would, by a very slight extension, adapt itself to any crime or misdemeanour which now lies under the ban of penal enactment. The gist of it is, that because law cannot do *every* thing, it ought not to attempt any thing in such cases as the present; that because some clever and designing, but generally ignorant men, will tamper with the credulity of others in the matter of physic, they ought to be, if not sanctioned, at least unrestrained, in the attempt; and that because the public are ignorant, they should be allowed to pay the penalty which such ignorance involves. By a parity of reasoning, he might repeal the law of murder because some men do not bolt their doors at night, or absolve the pick-pocket from responsibility because the corner of a tempting Bandana was permitted to emerge from the skirt pocket of its careless owner.

The next most important principle of this measure is involved in the establishment of a central board. We have already stated, that we conceive the idea to be in itself a good one. When we consider the almost innumerable schools for medical education in the three kingdoms, the conflicting interests that beset them, and the discrepancies they exhibit in the courses of education they respectively demand, there can, we think, be no question that the time has arrived at which some such measure is desirable: and had it been well constructed, and the profession admitted to something like an elective voice in the selection of its members, we should hail the change as a decided improvement.

But what does Sir James Graham propose to do? He

establishes a central council, which is to exercise an unlimited sway over the destinies of medicine and surgery, throughout the united kingdom, and is to consist of eighteen members, seven of whom may be as guiltless of any acquaintance with medical affairs as Sir James Graham himself; the remaining eleven must, it is true, belong to the profession, but any benefit which might be supposed to accrue from this is rendered nugatory by the entire subserviency to the minister which their nominal election implies.

To commence the list, we find the five regius professors, who, as their very name shews, are nominated by the crown or its representatives. To the individuals now holding the appointments we cannot have any possible objection; but in principle it is surely obvious, that men deriving their offices from the crown will be, more or less, swayed by the crown, and not always disposed to exercise an unbiased judgment, should questions arise which the non-medical president and secretary of state may desire to force on their attention.

Independently of this objection, it has usually been understood, that a regius professor has other duties to perform than those of attending a central board in London. An impression has existed, that they were placed in their various universities to teach the science of medicine or surgery to the youthful lieges of Her Majesty; and we can scarcely see how those duties are compatible with constantly rushing to and from the metropolis, even at railroad speed, at such charges as Her Majesty's secretary of state may agree to pay.

Again: in the number of members sent by the various universities and colleges, there appears, at first sight, something like liberality, but we fear that, on a very slight consideration, the whole vanishes into "thin air." For ourselves we are by no means satisfied, that they are the proper bodies to select from at all, or that they possess the confidence of the profession generally, to such an extent as renders them fitting representatives of the true interests or feelings of its members. But supposing us wrong in this opinion, it is quite certain that the elective principle here conceded is a pure and unalloyed farce.

For the first three years, as we have already seen, the selection is made by the secretary of state; afterwards (we suppose when Sir James Graham contemplates retiring),



the institutions nominate their own representatives, but they must be approved by the secretary of state, and are removeable at the pleasure of the secretary of state. In short these ominous words pervade the entire of this portion of the bill, and we warn the profession, that instead of its conferring the slightest control over their own affairs, it virtually goes to constitute a *secretary of state for the time being*, an absolute and all but uncontrolled dictator over the science and art of medicine and surgery throughout the whole empire.

There is a something sufficiently objectionable in all this, still the six men here referred to are, at least, medical men, and may fairly be supposed to bring to any discussions which occur in the council some real acquaintance with medical affairs. But not so the final six; they may indeed be medical men also, if her majesty or Sir James Graham choose it; but they are not so necessarily, and it is not probable that they ever will be; so, in all probability, the ranks of the council will be filled up by certain hangers-on of the treasury, certain expectants, whom it may be convenient to provide for, members, consequently, subservient to the minister of the day, who, amalgamated with five regius professors, and six members of universities, *removeable at his pleasure*—the great man himself being president with *two* votes, will form about as pretty and tractable a team to guide and drive as the most zealous aspirant at uncontrolled power could possibly desire. If parliament do not trample on this sad production, there will not be a person in the profession, from the President of the College of Physicians, to the humblest compounder of salts or soda, who will not look to the Secretary at the Home Office as the arbiter of his fate, as the individual who at will can make or mar his fortunes.

We have hitherto confined our remarks to the proposition of Sir James Graham as it now stands, offering no advice whatever in regard to its amendment. It remains, however, briefly to allude to this, and to another point also of no minor importance—namely, how far the profession have judiciously comported themselves hitherto, in dealing with its obnoxious, we might say, wicked provisions.

As regards the first point, we conscientiously believe that the bill is insusceptible of any amendment which could fit it to meet the wants of the community. It is in its very essence vicious—in its principle unwise. It legalises

quackery of all sorts and kinds, and so exposes the community to the worst of evils as far as regards their bodies. Politically viewed, it goes to transfer all power, as regards the health of the nation, into the hands of government, and so aids in the full and entire establishment of that centralizing system, which is as obnoxious to common sense as it is contradictory to the whole spirit of the British constitution. It gives, at the expense of the public health, and at the sacrifice of the vast majority of the profession, a most undue advantage to one and all of those universities and colleges, which, although venerable from their antiquity, have not, it must be allowed, progressed with the progressing spirit of the age; and it at once casts aside the only corporation now existing in England, which, though far from immaculate, at least possesses the freshness and vigour of youth, and be its faults what they may, has greatly conduced to elevate the general standard of medicine in this country.

As if Sir James Graham was resolved to climax his attack on the true interests of the public, by one equally unjust upon the medical profession, he actually attempts to rob them of those few privileges by which their interests have been hitherto supported—privileges guaranteed to them by the laws of Britain—privileges which every man had a right to expect that he should continue to enjoy, when he devoted his energies to an honourable and useful calling. There exists not a man in the nation at this moment possessed of a degree, a diploma, or a license, acquired by honourable toil and great outlay, who holds it not from some college or corporation sanctioned by the law; the very essence of whose privilege to grant it was, that they should co-operate in the subdual of all unlicensed practise; we hold it therefore, to be a direct violation of such pledges, could we for one moment suppose that such a bill could pass into a law.

But we hope better things from parliament, little as that body think of medical affairs; and we call on them to reject it *as a whole*, for if they once adopt its principle, and get into a discussion on its clauses, all is lost. We well know what a committee of the whole house means, especially on a point involving no sort of political interest; the making a house of forty members to begin with, a tedious talk about each clause, in which few take any interest, and where the one or two who do, speak, if not to empty

benches, at least to unlistening ears; and if we add to all this, the dogmatism of the minister introducing this measure, combined with the want of knowledge displayed by him in its construction, we see no other chance of safety to the public or of justice to the profession, than to let all unite in doing what in them lies, to insure its immediate and utter rejection.

It required not the gift of prophecy to anticipate that a measure such as we have described, when thrown among the inflammable and heterogeneous elements of which the profession is composed, would lead to a very decided outbreak. The result is so. In all quarters of England (the section most interfered with) we hear of nothing but opposition. Old associations roused into increased activity—new ones formed—all agreeing in one common point—denunciation of Sir James Graham's Bill. Amid all this turmoil it was some time before the general views of the profession could be collected. Like the Ephesians in St. Paul's days, "one cried one thing, and one another;" but, unhappily, the interests of the community were too much lost sight of, while the "Silver Images" occupied a somewhat prominent place in the discussion. At length all this has seemingly settled down into one leading proposition—the favourite one of the day, which attracts around it a large majority of the practitioners of England. It is trumpeted by the "*Lancet*," the leading organ of medical reform; forms the staple of several other weekly journals, and has even called a new one into being; it is lauded to the skies at scores of meetings; patronized by Dr. Webster and the "British Medical Association;" in short, professes to be a panacea for all the complaints of the profession. It is this—to incorporate the general practitioners of England into one new body.

In working out this bold scheme, it has become the fashion of the day, to laud with more of tact than truth, the high qualifications of the general practitioner; they cry out with one voice, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" If we are to believe Dr. Webster and the "*Lancet*," in the general practitioner alone are found concentrated all the talent and medical acumen of his day; he expatiates over a much wider range of science than his purer brethren, and shines with a real lustre, which, com-

pared with theirs, is as the summer sun contrasted with the twinkling of a rushlight.

We are the last to say one word in disparagement of the general practitioner. He constitutes one of a class by far the most numerous, and, without question, the most *practically* useful in the kingdom. His education, conducted as it now is, renders him, in most cases, a safe attendant on the sick; but we demur to the exaggerated praises, which, in the hope of gaining a particular end, are now heaped on him by a section of the medical press, and echoed in a note of self-laudation at every meeting. The simple fact is, that the general practitioner is now often a well-educated man, and fully competent to execute all the practical duties of his calling; but the mode of his remuneration is a bad one—it more or less renders him a trader, and exerts a powerful influence in chilling those higher aspirations which really advance the science of medicine. The best proof we can offer is this—that, although the general practitioners outnumber, as twenty to one, the repudiated “Pures” of England, yet, nearly every advance in medicine or surgery emanates from the small minority. An explanation is not difficult. The education, preliminary and professional, of the (so-named) “Pure,” is usually more intellectual, and his mind, in early days, less engrossed by the mere trade of the profession. It is indeed true, that, when he enters on the duties of his avocation, the physician or surgeon is longer in obtaining in private practice those facilities of application which practice only gives; but it must be held in recollection, that the first object of ambition with a young “Pure” is, to get himself connected with some hospital or public institution, where he daily sees a larger amount of disease than the most successful apothecary observes in the same space of time.

We thus believe, that whether considered in regard to scientific knowledge, or practical skill, the physician or surgeon, as now constituted, transcends the general practitioner; and we consequently object to that tone of depreciation on the one hand, and ridiculous self-complacency on the other, which has of late but too much marked the general movement. It is bad, because it is untrue. It is unwise, because it tends to relax the bonds which ought to unite *all* in a common resistance to the measure of the Home Secretary; and doubly unwise, because it must ex-

cite the determined opposition of our existing corporations, which so completely possess the ears of those, who in the end, will be the legislators. The general practitioners, as a body, have attempted to prove too much; and the chances are, they will fail in their favourite project, because they have so done. We think they might have adopted a wiser course, and we are self-willed enough to fancy we can point it out. We shall, at least, endeavour to render the question intelligible to a general reader. The idea of another medical corporation, presents *in limine*, one very startling objection, founded on the fact that it is another. However ill-managed our existing institutions may be, there is no rational man who can believe them to be too few in number; and surely, therefore, it would be better to re-organize such as exist, and adapt them to the wants and exigencies of the day, than add another to the already over-charged list. We cannot help thinking that this might be accomplished by amalgamating the College of Surgeons and the Apothecary Company into one corporation, the details of whose laws and privileges would be, of course, a subject of anxious discussion, but which should certainly embrace two points of primary importance. 1st. An extended power to *all* members of exercising a voice in the management of their own affairs. 2. That superiority of rank in the body, which probably it would be wise to institute, could only be acquired by public examination, or, as the French term it, by "Concours." The proposal we admit, may, at first sight, appear a wild one; but if wisdom and justice, unhampered by self-interest, were permitted to influence medical and surgical affairs, we do not despair of showing that substantial arguments may be adduced in its support.

The three parties mainly interested are—1. The General Practitioners—2. The Apothecary Company—3. The College of Surgeons.

From the general practitioner we should not anticipate any reasonable opposition; for, in point of fact, the very large majority of the class at this moment belong to both institutions. From the company they acquire their legal right of practice; they superadd the diploma of the college, not because it in any degree confers additional privileges in law, but simply because its possession sounds well in the ears of the public, and appears to render them practitioners of a higher grade. Surely, then, it would be as well for these

gentlemen to hold *one* diploma from *one* corporation, which attested their acquaintance with the varied subjects now divided over two. It would, at all events, save them from the torture of a double examination, and, what is often of no mean importance, a double payment of fees. The Apothecary Company would probably be a very manageable body. Their speedy and all but entire extinction, which the proposed bill threatens, has already impelled them to manifest a disposition to support almost any reasonable measure which seems likely to avert the blow, and considering, that with many faults their act has been productive of much good, we are among those who hope that concessions extorted by self-interest may yet be turned to account.

In the event of our proposal ever assuming any other form than that of a mere suggestion, the great opposition would clearly be found in the College of Surgeons. That noble institution, possessed of the most splendid museum in the world, and a medical library which yields to none, has unhappily long fallen under the control of a select few, who have strenuously opposed every attempt to open its portals more widely, and adapt it to the altered spirit of our age. Sending forth annually a large number of men invested with diplomas, it has resolutely denied them, as a body, any voice in the management of their own affairs, and restricted this to a selected council, which, on vacancies occurring in its number, is filled up by the nominations of its remaining members. For years back this has been a fertile source of grievance loudly complained of, but still unredressed. There is, however, some limit to human endurance, and the council, stimulated by constant outcry, appeared about two years ago to have resolved on some concession. Their influence with the government enabled them to procure a new charter, the structure of which exemplifies, in a marked degree, the possibility of combining theoretical liberty with practical serfship. Instead of quieting down the excitement which prevailed, this ill-judged document has produced quite an opposite effect. By creating invidious distinctions among men possessed of a similar diploma, by exercising the power vested in the council of nominating 300 *fellows* from amongst existing *members* in a manner not quite untinged with favouritism, and now, when for the first time the right of examination has been lately claimed, by admitting some



and rejecting others, not seemingly less worthy, in *secret conclave*, by all such proceedings they have managed to engender an ill-feeling between the governors and governed infinitely greater than it was even before the appearance of this ill-judged document.

The practical effect of the former charters had been, to invest an exclusive few with the direction of affairs, denying to the vast majority any voice in their guidance. The new one to a large extent does the same. It is not, perhaps, very easy to say when all this originated, but it certainly was brought fully into action by the charter granted in the earlier years of George III.'s reign. We apprehend, however, that the council, after all, have acted on the principles usually involved in royal charters. They one and all confer the power of making bye-laws, and it is too much to expect from human nature, that the men originally incorporated will not make such for their own advantage. By a natural therefore, but certainly undue exercise of this power, the managers of the college of surgeons have long enjoyed the privileges, profits, and advantages of the college, and transmitted them in an unbroken line to their sons, friends, and favourites, in the same manner as if the college had been given, granted, bargained, sold, assigned, and set over to them, their heirs, and assigns for ever, for their especial use, behoof, and benefit. The predecessors of the present owners got into possession less than a century since. The prestige on possession of the college, enabled them also to command the large and wealthy hospitals of the metropolis, and they also have become very much the birth-right of a few. We question whether any great hospital in London has for the last three-score years, possessed a surgeon who was not either the descendant, or relative, or pupil, or in some way, directly or collaterally, allied to some one or other of the men who preceded him. Of this we are at least certain, that the hospitals have not hitherto been open to fair competition, and the probable result of this is, that they are not at all times supplied with the best commodity which the market offers.

The class so long dominant in the college, comprises those who bear the name of "pure surgeons." The adjective seems to point them out, as men who practise surgery alone, but the definition is certainly imperfect; it would be nearer the truth to say, that they are men who often prac-

tise all branches, but do not supply their own medicines—in fact, general practitioners in all but pharmacy; for we will venture to assert, that fully half of the business of all the pure surgeons of London, consists in duties essentially medical; while the course of education prescribed by their own college is not one which insures any high degree of excellence in this department. We have, however, admitted that there is a something in “pure” medicine and surgery which tends to direct the mind to the higher pursuits of physic, and it is on such ground that we should wish to see, in the united corporation hinted at, two orders established; the acquisition of its minor diploma being imperative on all members—the major honour being only attainable by a subsequent examination undergone in *open court*. We are convinced, that such an arrangement would neither derogate from the true dignity of the surgical college, nor depreciate the standard qualifications of those who now occupy our hospitals, and are looked on, often properly, as the leading surgeons of their day. Of individuals we take no cognizance; what we object to is, the system under which they at present despotically rule the immense majority of their collegiate brethren, and unrestrainedly command nearly all of those grand institutions, which the religion, wealth, and charity of our ancestors devoted to the poor.

Assuming it as possible, that our embryo idea should further occupy attention, there are two points in the present Apothecary Act which would demand grave consideration. The first of these is directly opposed to the spirit and letter of Sir James Graham’s Bill. The act of 1815 contains a penal clause against unlicensed practitioners. It has worked badly in two ways: in the first place, it has enabled, sometimes indeed constrained, the Company to prosecute and impede individuals better educated than the majority of their own licentiates, merely because an apprenticeship had not been served: its utility, in the second place, has been much obviated by the expense of those tedious legal processes involved when they attempted to apply it properly for the suppression of ignorant and unauthorised practitioners. Instead of abrogating such a clause, we should be disposed to recommend some more summary proceeding, attended with less cost and delay.

The second point which demands attention is, the apprenticeship clause, as it now stands. On this we need

say little ; for every person, whose opinion is worth having, unites in denouncing it ; nothing can be more certain, than that it exerts a great and hostile influence, by occupying in all but menial pursuits those precious and irredeemable early years of the young medical aspirant, which ought to have been devoted to preliminary studies. When the apothecary in the olden time was a mere trader, the plan doubtless answered well ; as he now practically exists, he is very differently placed, and should in early years when the mind is yet fresh and impressible, be devoted to higher pursuits than the mortar. All the requisite knowledge of practical pharmacy, we venture to assert, on personal experience, may readily be acquired by six months' attendance at a well-frequented chemist's shop ; and we are not aware that much medical education is usually given to apprentices at home.

We have only a few words to say in conclusion, and those, on the general comportment of the profession in the present emergency.

It unhappily occurs, that the same petty jealousies between different grades, which have long encumbered this noble art, now break forth in a lamentable manner under the high excitement of the time. In one association we find general practitioners excluding physicians and pure surgeons from a participation in their cause, and with a narrowness unworthy of a liberal calling, holding themselves out as the only aggrieved parties in the whole matter ; while in another we find resolutions proposed by one physician and seconded by another, which actually go to thank Sir J. Graham for this miserable attempt at medical legislation !!

We hardly know whom to blame most for these exceedingly unwise measures, willing to hope they are simply an inevitable, though thoughtless result, of a professional division among men having one common object in view, caused by monopolising laws. We would add one hint taken from our brothers of the law, supposing a parallel question to occur among them, what would they do ? We conceive the barrister—the solicitor—nay their very clerks—would be associated in one close phalanx of determined opposition—we could wish that medical men were actuated by something of the same spirit. We may fairly at least call their attention to the trite, but true axiom, that union is strength, and in so doing we conscientiously offer

our opinion, that there is not a peer or peasant in England who (if he knew it) would not feel a personal interest in casting this bill from him, as a worse than unwise enactment.

Since the preceding paper left our hands, Sir James Graham, impelled by pressure from without, has withdrawn the bill on which our comments were founded, and introduced\* one of a modified character in its stead, which, however, leaves untouched all our more serious objections, excepting that in reference to a repeal of the penal clause in the Apothecaries' Act, against unlicensed practitioners, and to this extent admits that great principle of protection which was before so injudiciously denied. We heartily thank Sir James Graham for this concession; but we at the same time believe, that he would have acted a still wiser part, had he offered greater facilities for *realizing* the powers which he proposes to confer.

There are some minor changes in the new bill which we hold to be improvements, but space and time forbid our entering on them. Contrasting the two documents, there can be no doubt that the last is better adapted to the exigencies of the profession and the age, and we so far thank the Home Secretary for the change which has thus "come o'er the spirit of his dream;" indeed, we are now disposed to think, that had other important avocations enabled him to apply his great talents earlier in the day to a consideration of this question, much inkshed and discomfort had been saved; but we fear, that instead of casting an expanded glance over the wide field of medical society, he permitted himself to be swayed by a few individuals, who had from old associations a strong tendency to support that exclusive system which had so greatly conduced to their own personal advantage.

In the new bill, there is a marked variation from the former as regards the general practitioners of *Ireland*, which they are imperatively called on to watch with a very jealous eye. By the twenty-eighth clause of the original bill it is enacted—"That it shall be lawful for the said Council, on the application, within *twelve* calendar months after the *passing of this act*, of any person legally prac-

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\*A Bill for regulating the Profession of Physic and Surgery. Prepared and brought in by Sir James Graham and Mr. Manners Sutton. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 25th February, 1845.

tising as a Physician, Surgeon, or Apothecary, at the time of the *passing of this act*, in any part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.—to cause the name of such person to be registered as a Physician, Surgeon, or Licentiate in Medicine or Surgery, as the case may be, on production to the said Council of his diploma, license, or certificate,” &c.

By the thirty-second clause of the new bill it is enacted —“That it shall be lawful for the said Council, on the application of any person legally practising or entitled to practise at the *end of this Session of Parliament*, as a Physician or Surgeon in any part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, *or as an Apothecary in England*, to cause the name of such person to be registered as a Physician, Surgeon, or Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery, as the case may be, on production to the said Council of his diploma, license, or certificate.”

It will at once be perceived that these clauses differ in a marked manner—by the first, *all* men now *legally* practising in the *three* kingdoms, are permitted to register in any department of the profession for twelve months, having all their rights and privileges protected during that period, *independent* of registration. The second excludes from this privilege every person now practising in Ireland as a *general practitioner*, while it remains still operative in reference to her physicians and surgeons!!

We have in vain sought for a reason, why any such distinction should be made, but are convinced that no *good one* can possibly exist; and of this we feel assured, that if the parties interested are only true to themselves, no such aggravated act of injustice, no such invidious distinction, can ever receive the sanction of parliament, or be approved of by a single British practitioner. We firmly believe, that if our countrymen once rouse themselves to action, they will finally carry the day in this particular, just as we feel convinced that *all* rational reforms in medical policy will at no distant date be accomplished.

To one point in the new bills we desire finally to allude. Much has been already said about the London College of Physicians. Among the bills recently introduced, one relates to their new charter; but what its provisions may be, is only as yet known to an exclusive few—the fellows. Rumour however, whispers, that it excludes the vast majority of members from participation in the councils of the

college: this we hope is incorrect, but if otherwise, the document is not yet sealed, and we call on government deeply to consider, that no measure of medical reform will now be of real or permanent utility, which does not to a large extent admit the *elective principle*, or, in other words, enable the majority of persons interested to be the managers of their own affairs—always, of course, under the guidance of judicious legislative control.

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ART. VII.—1. *Geschichte der Zurückkehr der regierenden Häuser von Braunschweig und Sachsen, in den Schooss der Katholischen Kirche, im achtzehnten Jahrhundert, und der Wieder-herstellung der Katholischen Religion in diesen Staaten.* Nach und mit Original-schriften, von AUGUSTIN THEINER, Priester des Oratoriums.

(*History of the Return of the Ruling Houses of Brunswick and Saxony to the Bosom of the Catholic Church, in the Eighteenth Century, and of the Restoration of the Catholic Religion in these States.* Compiled from original documents by AUGUSTIN THEINER, Priest of the Oratory.) 8vo., Einsiedeln: 1843.

THE name of Dr. Theiner needs no introduction to the readers of this journal. It will readily be recognized as one of the most distinguished in that small but gallant band of German Catholic literati, who, each, in his own sphere, unaided and almost alone, are fighting the battles of our holy faith against a host of powerful and united antagonists. We have more than once expressed our astonishment and regret, that we should be so long left without an English translation of his invaluable works on Poland and Russia, or even his smaller but most instructive volume on the History of Ecclesiastical Seminaries; while in France and Italy, where their interest, in some respects, is not so great as in these countries, they have all been translated almost simultaneously with the publication of the original. The work which is now before us possesses still stronger claims upon an English Catholic translator, and especially at a time when the re-action in favour of the ancient faith is so general and so decided in England. We had proposed to give in our present



number a full and detailed notice of this remarkable volume, and had marked several interesting extracts for translation; but we have just been informed of another work projected by the author, so extremely important and of such transcendent interest, especially to readers at this side of the Channel, that, in order not to delay an announcement so gratifying, we are forced to content ourselves for the present with a brief analysis of what we had originally intended.

The work now before us is a history of one of the most remarkable religious movements of the last century—the return of the representatives of the houses of Brunswick and Saxony to the Church from which they had been so long separated, and to which they had stood in such bitter antagonism. It is written with great moderation and good feeling, and, like all the former works of Dr. Theiner, compiled from authentic and unedited documents, the most important of which are given in an appendix, and occasionally in notes interspersed through the volume. The conversions to which it refers form but a single chapter in the history of the Catholic re-action in Germany, which, after the fury of the first outbreak was exhausted, commenced towards the end of the sixteenth century, and which, though interrupted for a time by the Thirty Years' War, became more popular and more decided after its termination. It is a movement of which but little is generally known, and that little chiefly from Protestant historians; but, even as it comes to us from them, it is full of interest. In other ages we may, perhaps, meet as many conversions among private individuals; though indeed it would not be easy to find at any period a group of converts more distinguished than that which numbers, in Germany, such men as Lucas Holstein, the poet Scheffler, Peter Lambeck, Nessel, Besold, Andrew Frorung, and Julius Blume of Helmstadt; and in France, Marshal Turenne, Pelisson, and the Marquis de Dangeau, grandson of Duplessis Mornay. But, whatever may be said on this question, undoubtedly never, since the days of Constantine, had the Church received, within the same number of years, so large an infusion of royal blood, as we read of in the history of the latter half of the seventeenth century. Not to speak of the example supplied by our own domestic history, Christina of Sweden renounced her crown, and was solemnly received into the Church at

Innsbrück, in 1654: John Frederick of Hanover—the house to whose Protestantism we owe our present royal line—declared himself a Catholic in 1651: the next year saw the conversion of Ernest, Landgrave of Hesse-Rheinfels, one of the most learned and virtuous princes of his age, and a profound master of all the subtleties of controversial theology:\* the example was followed soon after by Christian Augustus, the Elector Palatine, who was moved to this step, as even the Protestant historian, Schröck, admits, by disgust at the divisions of the Protestant community: about the same time, the Princess Louisa Hollandina, grand-daughter of our James I., and daughter of Frederick, Count Palatine and King of Bohemia, not only professed herself a Catholic, but embraced the religious life; and a few years later, her nephew Maximilian, marshal in the imperial service, embraced the Catholic religion at Vienna.

It is about this period that Dr. Theiner's history commences, and it adds no less than seven similar names to those already enumerated. His work is divided into four sections. The first records the conversion of Anthony Ulric, Duke of Brunswick, with his two daughters; the second, that of Christian Augustus, Duke of Saxe-Weitz, the third, that of Frederick II. Elector of Saxony and king of Poland, and of his son Frederick III; and the fourth, that of Maurice William of Saxe-Weitz, and his grandson, Maurice Adolphus.

The first-named of these princes is probably known to many of our readers by a little book, entitled "*Fifty Reasons for Adhering to the Catholic Religion*," which he published on occasion of his conversion. Some also may

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\* The history of his conversion is not a little remarkable. During the vicissitudes of the Thirty Years' War, he was taken prisoner, and carried to Vienna. The opportunity of intercourse with Catholics there afforded to him, produced a deep impression on his mind; and especially the conversation of the celebrated Father Valeriano Magni (better known by his Latin name *Magnus*), satisfied him that it was his duty at least to inquire into the ground of his religion. With this view, on his return to his hereditary states in 1651, he summoned the Theologians of his university at Giessen (Menzer and Habercom) to a religious conference with Magni. It was held in his own castle at Rheinfels. He himself proposed the questions on which the conference was to turn, and directed it anxiously to the solution of the doubts which had previously suggested themselves to his inquiring mind. The result was, a thorough conviction of the truth of the Catholic faith, which he publicly professed in the following year, and to which he continued zealously attached for the rest of his life. For these particulars, and the details of the other cases referred to in the text, the reader is referred to Schröck's *Christliche Kirchen-Geschichte seit der Reformation*, t. v. pp. 64 and seq. The author was a Protestant.

possibly know him by his poetry, though it is not of a popular class.\* That he possessed natural abilities of no ordinary character these and the other writings, chiefly letters, which he has left behind, sufficiently evince; and he cultivated them not only by private study, but also by intercourse with most of the eminent men of his time. From his youth his thoughts appear to have taken a profoundly religious cast: his poetry is almost all devotional; and the portions of his correspondence with Leibnitz, Fabricius, and other divines, which have been preserved, are almost entirely on religious subjects. In the negotiations for the union of the churches he took an active part; he maintained a frequent and confidential correspondence with Molanus and Leibnitz, during the conferences with Spinola, and afterwards with Bossuet; and in the end, when it became evident that all hope of success was over, he turned his thoughts more anxiously than ever to the solution of his own personal doubts on the subject of religion. A circumstance occurred while he was still wavering, which turned the balance in favour of the truth. Negotiations had been opened for a marriage between his niece Elizabeth Christina, and Charles III. of Spain, afterwards the Emperor Charles VI. As a preliminary condition, however, it was required that the bride should embrace the Catholic religion, and the matter gave rise to a warm and angry discussion among the different parties at court. At length, the case was referred to the Theological Faculty of Helmstadt, and it was decided that the princess might, with a safe conscience, embrace the Catholic religion; inasmuch as salvation was securely attainable in that church. This decision, from such an authority, made a great impression on the mind of the Duke; he resumed his inquiry with still greater earnestness; through the influence of Father Amadeus Hamilton,† an English Theatine, his difficulties were removed one after another, and he made his profession of faith in the presence of a clergyman named Bessel (who had been deputed for that purpose by the archbishop of Cologne) on the 10th of January, 1710.

Dr. Theiner's account of all the details of this con-

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\* Translations of one or two of his hymns will be found in a former Number, XXIV.—*ART. Hymns from the German.*

† Member of the Scottish family of that name, and a warm adherent of the Stuarts.

version, and of the steps which the Duke afterwards took for the purpose of placing the Catholic religion on a proper footing in his dominions, without trenching in the smallest degree upon the rights of conscience in others, is extremely interesting. And it is the more satisfactory, because many of the German historians have taken pains to represent him as having afterwards repented the step; and one of the most recent, Menzel,\* describes his after life as embittered by discontent, and by unavailing regrets for the fatal error into which he had been betrayed. The best refutation of these and similar statements will be found in the appendix of this volume, and especially in the correspondence of the illustrious convert himself. We shall content ourselves with translating one single passage, the account of his death, which took place in 1714, little more than four years after his conversion. Dr. Theiner has taken it from a letter written by F. Amadeus Hamilton, a few days after the melancholy event. It would be difficult, even among the histories of the saints themselves, to find any thing more edifying or instructive; and certainly it would be impossible to discover anywhere, more unquestionable evidence of a firm and undoubting faith, and a complete and unreserved acceptance of all the duties which the Catholic religion prescribes, and all the feelings which it suggests and inspires.

"As if he had had some strange presentiment of his approaching departure from the world, he this year commenced the Lent with unusual recollection and piety, in order, as he said to his confessor, to prepare himself for a happy death. He directed that, every Wednesday, Father Benedict Sauer, an Observant Franciscan, should preach a sermon in the court chapel, 'on the art of dying well;' selecting himself the texts on which he should preach. The first sermon on Ash-Wednesday, the opening of the Lent, was upon the justification of the sinner. In the four following discourses, until Palm Sunday, the preacher was to explain the words of our Redeemer—'Father, into thy hands I commend my Spirit!' and the fifth, on Spy Wednesday, was to be upon the words, 'And when He had said this, He gave up the ghost.' But it was not vouchsafed to the Duke to hear this last discourse; for, on the day before Spy Wednesday, March 27th, a little after midnight, after an illness of seven days, he exchanged the sorrows of this world for a better.

"He took ill on the twentieth of this month, and though he was

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\* *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, t. ix. p. 513. Breslau, 1841.

confined to bed upon the following day, never again to rise, he insisted upon hearing in his bed-room the fourth sermon on the prescribed text, and invited the princes and princesses of his family, ten in number, to be present. Prince von Oettingen, who was then on a visit with the Duke, also assisted. He lost no time in preparing himself for confession and communion, and received during the Holy Sacrifice, which he had offered in his apartment. From this time forth, he turned his eyes away from this earthly life, and never ceased to repeat the words of the apostle Paul, 'I wish to be dissolved.' His fervour was constantly kept alive by prayer and pious meditations upon death, which his confessor read for him without intermission. On the evening of the 22nd, he received the sacrament of extreme unction in the presence of his entire court. It was a most striking and impressive moment. With joy beaming in his eyes, he grasped the blessed taper in his hand, 'Come!' said he, 'with a burning taper and a lighted lamp, will I go to meet my Christ.' He called for his crucifix, and pressed it to his bosom with a thousand kisses; repeating, while his soul overflowed with heavenly consolation, 'With my Saviour I am nailed to the cross.' The by-standers melted into tears. He summoned his children repeatedly to his bed-side, and in the most moving words exhorted them always to live in peace and mutual love; and, bestowing his paternal blessing on them, bade them an everlasting farewell. He frequently declared to them, that he could not sufficiently thank his God for having granted him, even in his extreme old age, to see the light of the true faith. Of the Holy Father he spoke with the most tender and deep veneration; and charged his confessor to tender his humble gratitude to him, and to the Cardinal Paolucci, secretary of state, for the paternal affection which they had displayed towards him ever since his reconciliation with the church. He earnestly commended his church at Brunswick to the Crown Prince, his successor. He admitted all the state officials high and low to kiss hands; thanked them for the fidelity they had shown him, pardoned them any injury they might have done him, and begged their forgiveness if he had done them injury or occasioned them pain; bestowing with his own hand on each, as they took their leave, a little present as a memorial.

"On the morning of the 24th, though worn out by the violent and unceasing pains which he suffered, he prepared himself for Mass with the aid of F. Sauer, and assisted at it with so much fervour, that after the consecration, during the elevation of the Sacred Host, he stretched his hands rapturously out of his bed towards it, exclaiming 'Now, O Lord, dismiss thy servant in peace!' He went to confession every day during his illness, and frequently caused the Acts of Faith, Hope, and Charity, to be read for him. However excruciating his pains might be, he never gave the slightest evidence of impatience. On Palm Sunday, the 25th, he begged

for the Holy Viaticum; and when the physician, on account of the weakness of his stomach, which was attended with frequent vomiting, advised him to take some strengthening food before it, he declined this, exclaiming with eyes and hands raised up to heaven, 'The Heavenly Food! the Heavenly Food!' He begged them to read for him the epistle and gospel of the day, in order that he might, as he exclaimed with a kind of holy enthusiasm, 'go to meet his Saviour in the heavenly Jerusalem, with the palms and olive-branches of faith, patience, and charity.' The rest of this day and the entire of the following, he devoted alternately to the reading of the penitential psalms, and meditation on the passion of our Lord, which he had twice read for him from the gospel. As if he knew the hour of his dissolution, he suddenly interrupted these prayers, and requested Father Sauer, to read the 'prayers for a departing soul.' He then said the litany of the sacred name of Jesus, and that of the agony of Christ, repeated the usual devotions for the dying, and between twelve and one o'clock on that night (26-27), just as he came to the words, 'into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit,' he gave up his soul to his Creator with indescribable tranquillity. A holier or happier death it is impossible to conceive. The love and veneration, not alone of his family and subjects, but of every German heart, accompanied him to the grave. By his own directions three solemn Masses were offered for his soul, at Horstan, at Wolfenbüttel, and at Brunswick. He had himself selected the passages which were to form the texts of the funeral sermons. At Brunswick, it was on the words of Job, 'For behold my witness is in heaven, and He that knoweth my conscience is on high!' and in Wolfenbüttel, the words of the royal prophet, 'What have I in heaven, and besides Thee what do I desire on earth?'—*pp.* 35-8.

To the history of the duke's conversion, the author has very judiciously appended the "Fifty Reasons," by which he justified and explained the step. This little work was first published in 1711, and attracted very great attention at the time. But it was soon after suppressed, and so successful has the proscription been in Germany, that all the exertions of Dr. Theiner and his friends failed to procure a single copy of the original edition. The German text of the present edition, therefore, presents the rare phenomenon of a re-translation into German of a work originally written in that language, the original of which may be practically regarded as lost to the world.

We must content ourselves with a brief summary of the remaining portion of the work. It contains the history of the conversion of five members of the house of Saxony, viz: Christian Augustus, third son of Maurice, Duke of



Saxe-Weitz; his brother Maurice William, the reigning duke; the nephew and heir of the latter, Maurice Adolphus; and Frederick Augustus II., Elector of Saxony, and afterwards King of Poland, together with his son and successor, Frederick Augustus III. Perhaps, of all the principalities of Germany, there is none in which a prince venturing upon such a step, would have so much opposition to encounter from the prejudices of his subjects, as in Saxony.\* No where had the Reformation struck root so deeply, and no where was the struggle of party more bitter and more protracted. The history, therefore, of an event so important, as the conversion of five members of the ruling family, cannot but be extremely interesting, and it is detailed by the author with great minuteness, all his statements being supported by documentary evidence. The second and third sections are especially important: the former (which regards the case of the celebrated Cardinal of Saxony), for its intrinsic interest, the latter (the conversion of Frederick of Saxony, first king of Poland), because the step which he took has commonly been attributed by Protestant historians to interested motives of policy, an imputation which Dr. Theiner's narrative satisfactorily disproves.

It remains for us to explain why we have connected the name of the author of such a work as this with the subject of Irish history. Perhaps we might find in the appendix of his volume a sufficient motive, inasmuch as it contains at least one document which bears upon Ireland—a letter of Anthony Ulric, of Brunswick, in which he promises to the Pope, Clement (who had written to him on the matter), to use his influence with the Queen of England, in favour of her oppressed Irish Catholic subjects. However, we have a much more substantial reason than this.

The history of the English and Irish Catholics during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is unhappily meagre and imperfect beyond any other period. Existing histories, with hardly an exception, are entirely one-sided; and even the documentary evidence on which they are based, has been carefully culled to serve the purposes of

\* To this day one of the familiar Saxon proverbs to express extreme annoyance and vexation at any disagreeable occurrence, is: "*Es ist zum Katholisch werden!*" "*It is enough to make one turn Catholic!*" We have ourselves heard it in travelling, on occasions when beggars, porters, &c., were more than ordinarily annoying and pertinacious.

prejudice and party. Upon the Catholic side there is literally nothing, or next to nothing, at least in print; and a notion has habitually gained credit, that upon this side there really is nothing to produce. It is time that we address ourselves in earnest to the disproof of this most unfounded opinion. That the records of these, for us melancholy, centuries have been sadly mutilated, it would be idle to deny. But that it is still possible to recover not alone fragments, but even entire series of interesting contemporary evidence, is equally unquestionable; and that it has lain until now in obscurity may, we very much fear, be attributed rather to dearth of zeal, than to want of opportunity, and even facility. Take for example the war of 1641. We had the pleasure of bringing into notice some months since, a most important and perfectly complete and unbroken series of historical papers; the entire correspondence of Rinuccini while he was Nuncio in Ireland during that memorable struggle. And what are the facts regarding this most interesting collection? We owe its publication to the research and enterprise of a stranger, utterly unconnected with Ireland. Yet the manuscript from which it is printed had lain in the Rinuccini library, at Florence, for nearly two centuries, open, with the characteristic courtesy of all continental institutions, for the examination of any Irishman who had spirit or patriotism enough to profit by the opportunity. It is described at length in the *Hibernia Dominicana*, by Dr. Burke, who was freely admitted to examine it during a short visit to Florence in 1770. Nay, it was not necessary to go to Florence for the purpose. A Latin history of the nunciature, *embodying all the documents*, has been lying for more than a century in the Holkham library in England; and an account of its nature and contents has been all that time staring every Catholic antiquarian in the face in the preface of Carte's *Life of Ormond*. Yet not a single movement seems to have been made towards examining, much less publishing it, if we except a meagre and inaccurate translation of one paper, the Nuncio's report, which appeared in the *Catholic Miscellany* for 1829!

A still more glaring case of indifference is that of the papers in the archives of St. Isidore's, the convent of the Irish Franciscans at Rome. We do not speak now of their ancient MSS. both Irish and Latin; these do not come within the scope of the present paper. We allude to

a large series of letters and other documents, commencing about 1630, and stretching over the principal part of the century. During this period, Wadding, the father of St. Isidore's, was the accredited agent of the Irish Catholics at Rome; and the series comprises letters and memorials from Ireland, addressed to him, or through him to the Holy See. We can testify, from personal examination, that many of these papers are of transcending interest, and that for any thing pretending to the name of a history of the period, they are absolutely indispensable. How long are they to remain unpublished and unknown? And why should we complain of dearth of materials, at least as long as these remain unexplored?

We may perhaps add, that there is another field from which it is reasonable to hope for no mean or unimportant gleanings—we allude to the Barberini Library. From personal research we are unable to speak. But a belief is generally entertained that some of the MSS., formerly the property of St. Isidore's, have found their way thither. During the occupation of Rome by the French, St. Isidore's, in common with many other conventual houses, was seized as a barrack. By the zeal of the then Father Guardian, the most valuable MSS. and other literary property of the house, were, at the risk of his own life, abstracted from the library and conveyed to the Barberini palace, which is close at hand: and it is generally believed, that, in the returning of the property at the Restoration, the poorer party, as too often happens, was the sufferer by this hurried and irregular transfer. The belief, though it may be unfounded, is so strong as to suggest the propriety of a very close and careful scrutiny.

A second period, equally gloomy for Ireland, and even more obscure as regards historical evidence on the Catholic side, is the Revolution of 1688, and the subsequent Irish war; and (what makes the want more deplorable) the opposite view of the history is elaborately elucidated and sustained by endless collections of documents, state papers, letters, state trials, &c. Upon our side, there is absolutely nothing. When the ill-fated king fled to the French court, he carried with him all the papers of importance connected with his reign, and the entire collection was arranged during his residence at St. Germain, in six enormous folio volumes. These he bequeathed at his death to the Scots' College at Paris. But they were

doomed to destruction. Amid the numberless excesses which have drawn down upon the movers of the French Revolution the curses of an indignant world, the student of Irish and English history still dwells with especial bitterness upon the destruction of this precious relic. It perished on the burning of St. Omer, in 1793!

Now the good tidings which we have been so long promising, is nothing less, than that—thanks to the industry of Dr. Theiner—we may soon hope to see the lamentable chasm in our history, which was created by the loss of this collection, in a great measure supplied by a collection hardly, if at all, inferior in general importance, and perhaps more interesting to Ireland than that which thus unhappily perished.

Our readers will probably remember, that the celebrated Cardinal Baronius was a member of the Congregation of the Oratory. The duty of continuing his "*Annals*" has always been regarded as an heir-loom in the congregation; and three volumes of the continuation were published by Raynaldus, in 1645, and a further continuation by Laderchis, in 1728. Both together, however, bring the "*Annals*" only as far as 1571; and the work had been abandoned for a long series of years, till it was resumed, some years back, by the zeal and enterprise of Augustin Theiner. In the prosecution of his labour of love he has received the most cordial and liberal assistance from the Holy Father. By his Holiness's express orders, all the secret archives, those of the Vatican (which contain the state papers), as well as of those of the Propaganda, have been thrown open for his examination. His work has already made considerable progress, and a portion of it may, we believe, be expected during the present year: but we cannot be sufficiently grateful that the first use he has made of the invaluable opportunities thus afforded, has been to form, from the mass of papers thus brought under his notice, a selection of the most important documents bearing on the reigns of James II. and William III.; in fact, a complete secret history of the Revolution, especially in its religious and ecclesiastical relations. This invaluable collection of documents has been carefully prepared for publication. It is to form the appendix of a history of the period, the original of which is to be German, but which will be published in English simultaneously with the appearance of the original.

Having had an opportunity of examining the entire collection, we shall gratify the curiosity of our readers by a brief description of its general contents.

It consists of above seven hundred papers, in French, Italian, and Latin, commencing in 1677, and ending in 1710, all of an official or demi-official character. Many of the originals are in cipher, especially the instructions of the Cardinal Secretary of State, and some of the Irish correspondence of the Inter-nuncio at Brussels; and all, especially the later portion, throw an entirely new light on the secret history of the period. We shall not think of going into details regarding the particular papers, but we may say, in general terms, that the collection comprises nearly two hundred letters of James II. and his Queen, chiefly addressed to the Holy See, written both before and during their exile; about half that number of briefs and rescripts of the Popes Innocent XI. and XII., both to the king and queen, and to the Irish bishops and the vicars apostolic of England and Scotland; a large series of most important despatches and reports of foreign ambassadors resident in London, addressed to their respective courts on the passing events of the day; the entire acts of the memorable Nunciature of Mgr. Adda, in the court of James; the despatches of the Nuncios of Brussels, Paris, and Cologne; and, above all, nearly two hundred letters, memorials, and reports of Irish, English, and Scottish bishops and other ecclesiastics, of the rectors of our foreign colleges, and of the Benedictines of Douay, stretching over a long series of years; some written in prison for the faith, some amid the poverty and privations of foreign exile, and some amid the manifold perils which surrounded their devoted ministrations in their unhappy home. It would not be fair, nor indeed would it be desirable, to anticipate the contents of these precious papers thus happily recovered; but, we cannot refrain from mentioning that they include letters of Primate Oliver Plunket, some written a few days before his execution, of Archbishop Comerford, of Cashel, of Archbishop Creagh, of Dublin, of Dominick Burke, Bishop of Elphin, Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, Ambrose O'Connor, Provincial of the Dominicans, and Father Bonaventure de Burgo, an Irish Franciscan, who, furnished with credentials from the Pope, made the circuit of almost all the courts of Europe, soliciting their inter-

ference with the British cabinet in favour of his Catholic fellow-countrymen. Besides these and many other similar letters, we frequently meet joint reports and memorials signed by a number of individuals; and it is often curious to trace, in the dates of the several letters, the melancholy realization of our traditionary character—"Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?"—to find our prelates scattered over Europe, in Rome, Paris, Louvain, Brussels, Avignon, Cologne, Prague, and Vienna. A still more curious class of documents contained in this collection, is a series of returns of the expenditure of several sums of money allotted by the Pope, and, in one instance, by the French king and the Dauphin, for the use of the Irish Catholic exiles, specifying the application of the particular items, and in some cases, even the names of the individuals. These returns occupy several sheets, and they are chiefly found in the years 1698 and 1699.\* Among the reports of the Inter-nuncio of Brussels, are returns of sums expended in sending priests to Ireland, with the amount paid to each. In all these documents, even supposing them to have no other value, the mere enumeration of names and dates may often serve to clear up an obscure point in general history, and still more in the private biography of the times. Indeed, the dispatches of this prelate, Mgr. Grimaldi, are all of engrossing interest, and frequently contain large extracts of his Irish correspondence,† and his correspondents occasionally appear in cipher and under fictitious names. Thus Bishop Mac Mahon, of Clogher, is called Nelson, and Burke, of Elphin, takes the still less Irish name of Thomas De Witt.

We do not feel ourselves at liberty to go more into details at present, but we trust many months will not elapse before this interesting collection will be, in the fullest sense of the word, *publici juris*. We trust, too, that the example of its author will not be without effect in other quarters. Although it would be idle to expect elsewhere than in the Vatican such a mass of papers as we have

\* In one instance the sum distributed was 23,655 livres; in another 27,364; in another, 35,305; and in another, 11,832. In the following year there is a donation from the Dauphin of 6000 crowns; and, on June 8, 1699, the king acknowledges to have received from the Pope, for his distressed Catholic subjects, 37,500 livres.

† Thus one of his despatches contains no less than three letters from different parts of Ireland—from F. French, of Galway, Father O'Shaughnessy, of Clonfert, and O'Donnelly, of Dromore. Others have even a greater number.



been describing, yet we doubt not there are numberless gleanings awaiting the enterprise and research of the first patriotic antiquarian who shall explore. The Bibliothèque de Bourgogne at Brussels, contains a great mass of most interesting materials for Irish history.\* The Bibliothèque Royale and the state offices in Paris, well deserve a most rigid scrutiny; and, if we may judge from the intercourse between Ireland and Bavaria, we can well believe that the Royal Library of Munich, which comprises the libraries of all the suppressed monasteries, must contain many fragments more or less important.

The truth is, it is only by piecemeal we can ever hope to see our history restored; nor, in such a dearth of materials, is there anything too insignificant to be unworthy of notice. Let a commencement but be made, and we have little doubt that many valuable fragments will be recovered.

As an example to those whose stores are better worth the trouble, we shall take this opportunity of securing permanently against the chances of destruction, two isolated but extremely interesting papers, which happen to be in our hands. The first is a long letter, written by one of Rinuccini's Italian suite, immediately after their arrival in Ireland, and describing their voyage from France, and, what is far more interesting, their first impressions regarding the country and the people. It is a curious supplement to the volume already published; and was kindly forwarded to us for publication by a distinguished friend, the rector of the Irish College at Rome. We give the original in a note, *ne forte depereat*. But, as it would be too long to translate entire, we shall content ourselves with those parts of it which relate to the state of the country and the manners of the people, some of which are extremely amusing, and betray no little simplicity in the writer. It is evidently addressed to Count Thomas Rinuccini, the brother of the Nuncio; but the writer's name is unknown. The F. Malasana, whose name is attached, is clearly the copyist only. It may have been written by the Dean of Fermo, though he is spoken of in the third person; but we are more inclined to believe that the writer is F. Joseph Arcamoni, the Nuncio's confessor,

\* The writer of these pages was informed by the eminent historian, Professor Döllinger of Munich, that the Bourgogne Library is extremely rich in Irish documents.

to whom frequent reference is made in the published correspondence. The orthography of Irish and French proper names, is absolutely ludicrous; but we have done our best to interpret it.\*

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"The courtesy of the poor people among whom my Lord the Nuncio took up his quarters, was unexampled. A fat bullock, two sheep, and a porker, were instantly slaughtered, and an immense supply of beer, butter, and milk, was brought to him; and even

\* "Dopoche per ordine di Monsig<sup>r</sup> Illmo Nunzio io ebbi comprato in Nantes la Fregata S. Pietro, S. S. Illma se ne passò alla *Rocella* [Rochelle] con quella parte della famiglia che gl'era più necessaria, per esser ivi aspettato dal Signore Segrio del gran consiglio d'Ibernia, il quale aveva supposto a S. S. Illma di aver fermata una flotta di otto buone navi, le quali gl'avessero fatto compagnia in Irlanda; ed io in tanto restai per far le provisioni di viveri e munizioni, le quali con tutte le possibili diligenze de ministri diversi, non furono potute venire in meno di 10 giorni: poi mi avviai colla medesima fregata e con il resto della compagnia verso la Rocella, e sempre Dio m' ha fatto provare gl'effetti della sua santa protezione; per i meriti forse dell'orazione di tanti devoti, che per noi pregano, come V. S. Illma mi ha più volte assicurato: poichè oltre all'avermi liberato dalla sorpresa che pensava di fare un vascello parlamentario della nostra fregata, mentre dentro al porto di *Paembouff* [Painboeuf] era guardata da pochi, mi volse anco cavar del pericolo, in che il medesimo vascello credeva di havermi messo nel porto di Sanazan giacche essendo ivi stato sempre ad attendere i nostri andamenti, con una straordinaria avvertenza aspettò la nostra partita; e appena ritirate l'anchore, spiegassimo le vele per sortire, che egli fece il medesimo, e ci venne sempre dietro per lo spazio di 40 miglia, supponendo che due altri vascelli [parlamentari], che a bella posta andavano scorrendo per quel tratto di mare, ci avessero ad incontrar, volendo egli facilitar l'impresa, con sopraggiungerci in caso di conflitto. Ma Iddio permise, che questi, avendo dato il giorno innanzi la caccia ad una fregata Ibernese, che si salvò tra S. Malo e Nante ci lasciassero libero il camino. Fu causa nondimeno che non potessimo far una bella impresa di incontro al porto di Ione, giachè vedendo un vascello corsaro Biscaino a tutte vela verso di noi per combatter la nostra fregata, ed essendoci messi in ordine per abordarlo, se egli avesse avuto ardire d'attaccarci come mostrava, in sul meglio si pentì, e voltando cammino si mise in fuga. Era però certo che l'avressimo sopraggiunto, ma il nostro capitano prudente non volse seguirlo, per aver un altro nemico addietro alle spalle. Si navigò tutta la notte con grandissima circospezione ma nel giorno seguente non solo ci trovassimo liberi da persecutori, ma vicinissimi all'isola di S. Martino, e poi in poche ore con venti favorevoli andassimo alla Rocella. Poi buttate le ancore, io mi buttai col battello in terra a dar il ben trovato a Monsig<sup>r</sup> che con ansietà grande nel collegio de' P. P. Gesuiti mi stava attendendo, essendogli stato detto, che avressimo incontrati maggiori pericoli tra Nantz e la Rocella, che tra la Francia e l'Ibernia; e nel vedermi S. S. Illma alzò le mani al cielo in rendimento di grazie a Dio e alla B. Vergine. Erano state sulle vele per un vento molto favorevole l'otto navi e vascelli detti di sopra ad aspettar cinque o sei giorni: ma non vedendo comparir la nostra fregata, per non perder la buona congiuntura si risolverettero di partire, e un altro assai più grosso vascello, e ben armato, che aveva promesso in ogni modo di aspettarci, nel medesimo giorno che noi arrivammo alla Rocella, si portò a S. Martino, [St. Martin in the Isle de Rhè] e di là fece vela verso l'Irlanda, e ci lasciò soli. Ognicosa fu presa in bene, e Monsig<sup>r</sup> Illmo Nunzio colla solita sua gran confidenza nella protezione di Dio, e nelle benedizioni apostoliche diede ordine che ci apprestassimo subito tutte le cose necessarie per la navigazione, e il giorno seguente ancorche travagliatissimo da una arrabbiata rognà, essendosi portato alla fregata con tutta la gente, in numero di 83 persone tra passeggeri, soldati e marinari, si fece vela con buoni auspizi.

"Navigassimo con prospero vento tutto quel giorno, e anco il seguente, e senza rincontrar alcun vascello inimico si camminava allegramente: ma nel 3<sup>o</sup> giorno

we, who were still on board, experienced the kindness of the poor fishermen, who sent us presents of excellent fish and oysters of most prodigious size in the utmost abundance. While we were creeping along in the frigate, in the track of the Nuncio, I observed a harbour about half-a-mile in length, and a pistol-shot in breadth, so very beautiful, that curiosity led me to take the boat and go on shore, for the purpose of examining the wonders of the place. In a short time I was surrounded by an immense multitude of men, women, and boys, who had come running down from different places in the mountains to see me; and some of them happening to observe the crucifix which I wore on my breast, they all made a circle round me, and kissed it one after another. After this, they

un' ora avanti mezzodì scopriremmo otto legni Parlamentarj, cioè 5 grosse navi da guerra e 3 fregate, le quali, per lo spazio di 4 ore, ci perseguitarono a più potere, ma si per la velocità della nostra fregata, si anco perchè non s'immaginavano mai che in quella (essendo sola) potesse esservi il Nunzio d'Ibernia, restarono addietro, e voltando cammino ci lasciarono andare per i fatti nostri: nel giorno seguente, per causa del novilunio si turbò molto il tempo, e navigassimo con un mare assai grosso, e con tanta oscurità, che dubitando il nostro capitano di andarci a mettere in mano de' nemici, ci tenne sempre in alto mare a man sinistra, e la notte si andò girando per non perdere il cammino colla lontananza. Allo spuntar dell' Alba crebbero i nostri travagli, poichè scopriremmo un grande vascello da guerra e una fregata da guerra, che a più potere ci venivano addietro, e tanto ci avanzarono, che fu riconosciuto bene essere un tal *Plunchetto* [Plunket] acerrimo persecutore degli Ibernese, stipendiato dal Parlamento d'Inghilterra. Questo avendo il vantaggio del vento troppo impetuoso per la nostra fregata, ed anco la tempesta del mare era in suo favore col legno più grosso, si veniva molto avvicinando, tanto che bisognò allidar molta robbia, che era d'impedimento, come casse barili, botti, canestri ed altri. Si cominciò la caccia tra l'isola di Sorlingat [*Les Sorlingues—the Scilly Isles*] ed il canale d'Inghilterra verso l'Irlanda, ed avendo ci perseguitato per spazio di 9 ore continue, nelle quali corressimo più di 115 miglia, piacque a sua D. Maestà che mai potè avvicinarci a tiro di cannone, anzi dopo aver tagliate noi la vela al trincetto che pigliava troppa acqua, tanto s'avanzò la nostra fregata che per divina grazia l'inimico si disperò di poterci più arrivar; e quando credevamo d'esser sopraggiunti ci vedemmo liberi, voltando il perfido persecutore a man destra verso *Cappollen*.\* Il nostro capitano, al quale si deve veramente una grande obbligazione, fece cose in quel giorno, da stupire, poichè dando animo ai soldati e passeggeri, non lasciò mai di dar ordini opportuni ai marinari, che certo tutti si portavano eccellenti nelle loro cariche. Fuggimmo come ho detto più di 115 miglia da *Capollen* [Cape Clear] fino alle parti occidentali dell'Ibernia, ma tanto in alto mare, che causò poi un altro travaglio come sentirà V. S. Illma appresso. Gran cosa, che durante il pericolo nè Monsignore nè buona parte di noi espressero spavento, e mentre S. S. Illma con animo tranquillo, ancorchè infermo di corpo, ed in letto, dava cuore a tutti, noi altri mettemmo bene al ordine e senza confusione tutte le nostre arme, ed avendo procurato tutti di fare un atto di dolore de' nostri peccati, ci mettemmo in punto di difenderci fino all'ultima goccia di sangue. Fu Monsign.<sup>r</sup> sempre costante a dire che S. D. Maestà ci avrebbe liberati dal pericolo, e fu presago dello scampo; ma quando ci vedemmo liberi, allora s'incominciarono ad arricciare i capelli, ed ad apprendere il timore. Si resero però grazie utilissime a Dio alla B. V. e a S. Ant.<sup>o</sup> di Padua, che era il santo protettore di quel giorno, massime dagl'Ibernese che nel contrasto si trovarono angustiatissimi per la sicura morte se fossero stati presi dal crudelissimo nemico. S'alzarono però le mani al cielo, e si bacciarono l'un l'altro lagrimando di tenerezza. Nel giorno seguente seguitando il cattivo tempo e il mare grosso avessimo qualche travaglio, poichè per quel spazio di mare che s'era fatto il di

\* There can be no doubt that this is a false orthography for *Cape Clear*. In the nuncio's own letter (Nunziatura, p. 66.) it is spelled *Capo Cien*.

made signs of the greatest affection and friendship to me, and conducted me, almost perforce, to one of the nearest huts, where I was seated on a cushion stuffed with feathers; and the mistress of the house, a venerable old dame, sat down beside me along with her daughters, and offered to kiss me, according to the usage of the country; and had I not explained by signs, that this would not be becoming in one who bore Christ crucified on his breast, and who accompanied the Nuncio as priest, I think they would have been offended. The old dame then brought me in a wooden vessel, a great draught of most delicious milk, expressing the utmost anxiety that I should drink it. As it was of a most excellent flavour, I drank copiously of it, and was quite revived by the draught. They all endeavoured to stand as close to me as possible, and those who were

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innanzi con la fuga, e per quello che s'era camminato girando nell' oscurità della notte si stentò un pezzo a trovare dove potessimo essere, ed essendo nato disparere trà piloti, s'andò un pezzo cercando nell' immensità dell' oceano dove fosse il regno d'Ibernia; ma alla fine S. Orsola per esser protettrice di quel giorno, per esser anco sua festa, ci consolò col farci scoprire la desiderata, Irlanda. Tre ore dopo mezzo giorno ci trovassimo nella parte occidentale dell' isola, dirimpetto al porto di *Kilmar* [Kenmare, written by the Nuncio *Chilmar*, p. 66.] alla bocca del fiume Maire, ma sopraggiungendo la notte, il nostro capitano non volse entrar dentro, per esserci in alcuni luoghi diversi scogli, e gettata però l'ancora, si fermò ivi vicino sino allo spuntar dell'alba, ma avendo in quel giorno soffiato un vento da terra molto contrario, bisognò anco ivi travagliar non poco, poiche si stentò quasi tutto il giorno a poter prender porto, anzi per condur Monsign<sup>r</sup> Illmo Nunzio a terra come tanto desiderava, bisognò metterlo nel battello, e fu condotto dentro alcune povere capanne di pastori e pescatori, ed ivi essendo stato accomodato il suo solito letto, riposò la notte per divina bontà dopo tanti travagli, assai bene, il che non aveva mai potuto S. S. Illma far in sei giorni di navigazione. Andai il giorno seguente dalla fregata a salutarlo, e avendolo trovato in quel povero tugurio, dissi che avendo gli Ibernesi aspettati S. S. Illma, come il Messia, era di dovere che capitasse da bel principio in una capanna da pastori, ad imitazione di G. C. nostro redentore. Servi in quel luogo Monsign<sup>r</sup> alla messa, che S. S. Illma celebrò per consolazione di un numeroso popolo, che da quelli luoghi sellene campestri era ivi concorso, e poi me ne ritornai alla fregata con alcuni pochi della famiglia di S. S. Illma, la quale avendo il giorno seguente preso il viaggio per terra verso *Antuli* [Arctully] io lo seguitai per mare, andando sempre bordeggiando di rincontro.

“La cortesia di quei poveri popoli dove Monsign<sup>r</sup> capitò, fu incomparabile, poiche subito furono ammazziati un grosso bue, due montoni, ed un porco, e portata birra, butiro e latte in grand<sup>ma</sup> quantità; e noi ancora che eravamo in mare, esperimentammo l'umanità di quei poveri pescatori con regali di buonissimi pesci, ed ostriche stupendissime in tanta abbondanza che non si poteva desiderare da vantaggio; e mentre andavamo colla fregata serpeggiando in seguimento di Monsign<sup>r</sup>, viddi un porto di mezzo miglia di lunghezza e d'un tiro di pistola di larghezza, tanto bello, che per curiosità volsi condurmeccol battello, ed essendo smontato a terra a riguardar in un bel posto le maraviglie del sito, fui in breve spazio di tempo circondato da un infinità d'uomini, donne, ragazzi, che da diversi luoghi di qui monti correndo erano venuti a vedermi, e riguardando poi alcuni di loro un crocifisso che avevo al petto, mi fecero tutti un gran cerchio, e poi volsero ad uno ad uno tutti bacciarlo. Dopo di questo mi fecero segni di grand' amorevolezza ed amicizia, e mi condussero quasi per forza ad una delle loro capanne piu vicine, dove fui messo a sedere in uno stramazzo di piume, e la padrona di casa, che era una vecchia veneranda, essendosi accostata con le sue figlie volevano bacciarmi all'usanza del paese, e se io non avessi fatto cenni, che ciò non conveniva a chi portava Gesu Cristo crocifisso, e che come sacerdote accompagnava il nunzio Apostolico, credo che sene sarebbero piccato. Mi si portò poi dalla medesima madre di famiglia in un vaso di legno

able to touch me, considered themselves happy; so that it was with difficulty I could disengage myself from them, in order to return to the frigate: on the contrary, they wished to escort me to the very water edge, and some of the young men wished to accompany me altogether. What is most remarkable, is, that in these wild and mountainous places, and among a poor people who are reduced to absolute misery, by the devastations of the heretic enemy, I found, notwithstanding, the noble influence of our holy Catholic faith, for there was not one, man, woman, or child, however small, who could not repeat the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed, and the Commandments of the Holy Church."

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"The country through which we have passed, though mountainous, is agreeable; and, being entirely pasture-land, is most abundantly stocked with cattle of every kind. Occasionally one meets a long tract of valley, interspersed with woods and groves; which, as they are neither high nor densely planted, partake more of the agreeable than of the gloomy. For seventy miles the country which

una buona quantita di stupendissimo latte, e volse in ogni modo che io ne bevessi, che per esser gustosissima ci replicai due volte, e mi diede la vita. Si forzavano tutti di starmi appresso, e beato si stimava chi poteva toccarmi, e a pena potei spicciarmi da quella gente per ritornar alla fregata, anzi vollero accompagnarli in sin all'acqua, e alcuni giovanetti volevano venir ancora con me. Gran cosa, nelle montagne e luoghi rozzi, e gente povera per le devastazioni fatte dai nemici eretici, trovai però la nobiltà della S. fede Cattolica, giacché non vi fu uomo, o donna, o ragazzo, ancor che piccolo, che non mi sapesse recitar il Pater, Ave, Credo, e i comandamenti della santa chiesa.

"Monsign<sup>r</sup> seguitando il suo viaggio per terra fu incontrato da varii personaggi, e signori, e da gran numero di soldati, poiche il Seggrò del gran consiglio, che era, come ho detto, con Monsign<sup>r</sup>, aveva spedito in diversi luoghi molti messi. Fu alloggiata S. S. Illma la prima sera in un forte castello detto Artolo, [Arduilly] dal signor del luogo, che con molta splendidezza la ricevette. Si fermò ivi Monsign<sup>r</sup> due giorni, e poi per monti asprissimi seguitò il viaggio verso Macroom, luogo del Sign<sup>r</sup> Visconte Musgri [Lord Muskerry] Signore principale del regno, con la commodità d'una lettiga fatta fare a posta di tavole di legno e corde, al meglio che potessimo dare ad intendere; ed essendovi S. S. Illma portata al luogo, fu ivi ricevuta alla grande dal figlio di detto Signore, il quale venne ad incontrarlo 3 miglia lontano con 50 cavalli armati, e vicino al castello trovassimo uno squadrone di fanti, ed appresso una processione di tutti gli ecclesiastici tanto secolari quanto regolari, che con la croce riceve Monsign<sup>r</sup>, che per allora per spazio d'un miglio era messo a cavallo, e fu poi condotto alla chiesa. Vi era concorso un popolo infinito, e tutti prostrati a terra per aver da S. S. Illma la benedizione, diedero segni d'allegrezza e d'applausi. Dalla chiesa si portò Monsign<sup>r</sup> al Palazzo, alla porta del quale fu ricevuto dalla Signora Viscontessa in assenza del suo Signor Marito, che era al campo, o pure come commissario del trattato di pace, a Dublino, ed essendogli prostrata avanti con tutti i figliuoli e famiglia baciò le vesti a S. S. Illma, e domandando la benedizione, la quale ricevè con grandissima divozione.

"Da Macroom dopo 4 giorni andassimo a Tur-aseugal,\* e da Fur-aseugal a Colmingh,† e da Colmingh a Killmallock, e da Killmallock a Limerick, città delle

\* We must confess our inability to identify this locality. It is not mentioned by the Nuncio himself; and perhaps it is but a misnomer of what he calls *Tromsacan*, which is evidently *Dromsacan*, a strong castle of the O'Keeffe's on the Blackwater, and about fourteen miles from Macroom.

† Perhaps this is *Clonsaan*, about six or seven miles from Dromsacan; or more probably it is *Kilsclenan*, though this place was burned by the insurgents in 1597, on which occasion the poet Spencer had a narrow escape with his life.

we met was almost all of this character; but having once crossed the mountains, we entered upon an immense plain, occasionally diversified with hills and valleys, highly cultivated, and enriched with an infinite number of cattle, especially oxen and sheep; from the latter of which is obtained the very finest of what is called English wool.

"The men are fine looking and of incredible strength; they are stout runners, and bear every sort of hardship with indescribable cheerfulness. They are all devoted to arms, and especially now that they are at war. Those who apply themselves to the study of literature are most learned; and you meet persons of every profession and science among them.

"The women are remarkably tall and beautiful, and display a

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principali del regno, posta alle rive d'un fiume navigabile verso la parte occidentale d'Ibernia, ed essendo per tutti i luoghi ricevuto con le medesime dimostrazioni d'amore e di cortesia, in questo ultimo luogo gl'Irlandesi fecero uno sforzo del loro affetto, assicurandomi di dire che per qualsivoglia gran principe orè non avrebbero potuti fare cose maggiori. Oltre agli incontri di cavalleria e fanteria, vennero tutti i grandi personaggi della provincia a riverirlo e per tutta la strada era la gente calcata, ed in ginnocchioni colle braccia aperte ad applaudire la venuta di S. S. Illma ed a ricevere la Apca benedizione. Il magistrato di Limerick si trovò alla porta della città con il maggiore, che era quello che la governa, ed ivi avendo ricevuto e complimentato S. S. Illma, lasciò che il clero lo ricevesse in processione sotto baldachino, e che lo conducesse alla chiesa, la dove avendolo seguitato dietro ricevè poi l'Aplica benedizione.

"Il vescovo di questa città per esser vecchio di 82 anni, non potè venire ad incontrarlo, che a mezza strada dalla aporta al Duomo in una sedia, era condotto, ed ivi essendo prostrato avanti a Monsign<sup>r</sup> Nunzio, non fù possibile volesse alzarsi, finche non ebbe la benedizione apostolica; anzi con tutti i suoi anni si fece nondimeno portare per una strada piu spedita al Duomo ed ivi alla porta presentata la croce a Monsign<sup>r</sup>, poi volse anco far segno di dargli la mitra ed il pastorale dicendo. *Ab ecclesia Apostolica hec recepi, nunc eidem ecclesia promptè restituo.* Ed essendosi ivi fatte le solite ceremonie secondo il Rituale Romano, diede, come ho detto, Monsignre. la sua benedizione al numero anzi infinito popolo, ed io publicai da un luogo eminente l'indulgenza di 40 anni in virtù della facoltà di S. S. Illma che poi fu condotta dal maggiore, dal magistrato e dai molti nobili ad una casa destinati per habitare con tutta la sua famiglia. Non si possono certamente esprimere le dimostrazioni d'umanità affetto e cortesia di tutti questi popoli, e la grandissima devozione che hanno alla S. sede Apostolica, e giuro in verita che molte volte mi hanno causato tenerezza e lagrime in vedere che non curandosi la gente di prostrarsi in mezzo al fango per bacciare, o almeno toccare le vesti di Monsign<sup>r</sup> e dopo si bacciano le proprie mani come se havessero toccate reliquie, e quando havevano ricevuta la benedizione di S. S. Illma ritornavano a casa con le mani alzate al cielo dando ad intendere la consolazione che ne riportavano. Per una buona parte di strada portò sempre Monsign<sup>r</sup> seco un gran convoglio di Cavalleria, e fanteria per esser sicuro dall'insidie de' Nemici Heretici Parlamentari, che tengon anco fin hora occupate alcune buone fortezze non molto lontane da 'luoghi d'onde siamo passati; ma sopra tutto l'omnipotente mano di Dio sempre ci ha protetti, perche non hau gli Heretici averto mai ardire, di uscir fuori de' lor posti per dubbio che li fosse tagliata la strada per il ritorno come facilmente sarebbe successo. Orasi Illmo Sig. Nunzio, che il Decano suo servitore, ritrovandosi gia in Hibernia sta Allegro e contento, e massime per vedersi condotto in salute e scampato tanti pericoli l' Illmò Sigrè fratello di V. S. Illma; e siccome presi per buonissimo augurio quello che da lei mi fù scritto mentre era in Parigi, e che mi credeva in Irlanda; così adesso per allora rendo a V. S. Illma grazie humilissime; essendo certo che l'auspizi sono stati sempre accompagnati dalle sue orazioni, In somma siamo in Hibernia, siamo in Hibernia! lodato Iddio!

"Il paese per il quale siamo passati sebbene è tra montagne dimostra non



charming union of gracefulness with modesty and devotion. Their manners are marked by extreme simplicity ; and they freely mix in conversation everywhere, without suspicion or jealousy. Their costume is different from our's, and somewhat resembles the French ; except that they wear, besides, a long cloak and profuse locks of hair, and go without any head-dress, contenting themselves with a kind of handkerchief, almost after the Greek fashion, which displays their natural beauty to great advantage. They are extremely prolific, and almost all the women who marry have large families. There are some who have as many as thirty children alive ; and the number of those who have from fifteen to twenty is immense ; and they all are handsome, tall, and robust, the majority being light-haired, and of a clear white and red complexion.

"They give most superb entertainments both of flesh and fish, for they have both in the greatest abundance. They are perpetually pledging healths, the usual drink being Spanish wines, French claret, most delicious beer, and most excellent milk. Butter is used on all occasions, and there is no species of provisions which is not found in the greatest abundance. As yet we have all accommodated ourselves to the usages of the country. [A line

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dimeno amenita ed è abundantissimo di ogni sorte di bestiame, per esser tutto pieno di pascoli amenissimi, ed alle volte si scuoprono tratti di lungissime valli tempestate di boschi e selve, quali per non esser molto grandi e spessi hanno piuttosto dell' ameno che dell' horrendo, e per 70 miglia sempre habbiamo trovati luoghi quasi simili; ma poi trapassati i monti, siamo entrati in una immensità di pianure che alle volte formano ancor alcuni collicelli e valli amenissime, ben coltivate e arricchite da una infinita di bestiame, ma sopra tutto di bue e pecore, dalle quali si ricava la lana finissima che chiamano d'Inghilterra.

"Sono gli uomini di bello aspetto e di robustezza incredibile; sono valorosi corridori e sopportano ogni incommodo con prontezza inenarrabile; sono tutti dediti all'armi, e massime hora che sono in guerra; quelli che hanno atteso alle lettere sono dottissimi e vene sono in tutte le professioni e scienze.

"Le donne passano il segno in grandezza e bellezza, ed avendo accompagnata colla leggiadria una gran modestia e devozione, dimostrando ancora una grandissima simplicità conversando con tutti in tutti luoghi senza alcuno sospetto o gelosia; e vestano abiti diversi dai nostri, ed hanno qualche similitudine con li Francesi; solamente portano d'avvantaggio tutte un ferraiolo lungo con certi gran ciuffi; e andando senza alcuna acconciatura di capo si contentano d'alcuni sciugamani, quasi al costume de Greci, facendo apparire in questo modo la loro natural bellezza. Sono fecondissime poiche quasi tutte maritandosi fanno molti figli, e ve ne sono molte che ne hanno fino a 30 vivi; ma, di quelle che ne hanno 15 e 20 vene è un numero infinito, e tutti sono belli, grandi di statura, e robusti, essendo la maggior parte biondi, e di carnagione bianca e rossa.

"Si fanno banchetti superbissimi di carne e di pesce, perché d'un e d'altro hanno questo popoli grandissima abbondanza. I brindisi sono perpetui, bevendosi vini di Spagna, claretti di Francia, birra squisitissima, e anco latte buonissimo. Ogni cosa è butirro, e non v'è vivanda che non ce ne sia in gran quantità. Noi ci siamo tutti accomodati anco fin adesso all usanza del paese ..... (here a line is effaced)..... E vi sono anco de frutti, come meli, peri, prugne, carciofoli; e tutte le cose commestibili sono a buon mercato. Un grosso bue vale una doppia, un castrato 30 bajocchi, un paro di capponi, o galline, un giulio, le uova un quattrino l'uno, e così si faccia il conto del resto: per un soldo si ha un grosso pesce. Ma di salvaticinii ve n'è tanta copia che non se ne tien conto. Gli uccelli si possono quasi ammazzare con i bastoni, e massime i tordi, merli e fringuelli. I pesci sono squisitissimi tanto di mare, quanto di fiume, ed in

is here effaced.] They also eat fruit, as apples, pears, plums, artichokes, and all eatables are cheap. A fat ox costs a pistole, a sheep thirty bajocchi, a pair of capons or fowls, a paul, eggs a farthing a-piece, and so on for the rest in proportion. You can have a large fish for a soldo. But game is so abundant that they make no account of it at all. Birds may almost be killed with sticks, and especially thrushes, blackbirds, and chaffinches. Both the salt and fresh water fish are most exquisite, and so abundant, that for three pauls we bought one hundred and fifty pounds of excellent fish; as pike, salmon, herring, trout, &c., all of excellent quality. We got a thousand pilchards and oysters for twenty-five bajocchi.

"The horses are very plenty, stout, handsome, swift, and cheap; so that for twenty crowns you might buy a nag, which in Italy would be worth a hundred gold pieces."

The second of these documents, which many will deem even more interesting, is a specimen of the treasures of St. Isidore's. The selection of the Irish as the medium of communication is evidently meant as a sort of cipher, a purpose which it would be almost sure to serve. The original letter is directed upon the back, "To my Honoured Friend, Mr. John Colgan, of the college of St. Anthony of Padua, in Louvain." The Irish character is bold and well formed, evidently from a practised pen. We content ourselves at present with giving the following translation:

"REVEREND FATHER—

"I have a sad story to tell you about Cornelius Macguire, Lord Inniskillen, who was at large hitherto, but who is now in Newgate, the filthiest prison in London—the prison of thieves and felons—himself, and Mac Mahon, and a Scotch captain, also a Catholic, who was brought with them from Ireland.

"They are all there in one small room, without food, or drink, or

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tanta quantità che per tre giulii abbiamo avute 150 libre di pesce buono, come lucci, arenghe, salmomi trotte ed altri di bontà incredibile. Di sarde e di ostriche per 25 baj. ne abbiamo avuto un migliajo.

"De cavalli ve ne sono assaissimi, belli, robusti, veloci ed a buon mercato, tantoche per 20 scudi si avva una chinea, che in Italia valerebbe cento pezzi di oro.

"Io finisco con replicare a V. S. Illma che siamo in Ibernica tutti per grazia di Dio, sani e salvi, e se non fosse la rognia che travaglia Monsign' carissimo saremmo i più felici nomini di questo mondo. Fà di mestiero però che si preghi Iddio, accio restituisca a S. S. Illma la sanità, perche sono ormai cinque mesi che non si fà altro che grattar anzi scorticare, E qui a V. S. Illma bacio riverentissi mamente le mani.

"Di Limerick li 10 Nov<sup>bre</sup>. 1645 alla Romana.

"*Die tertio mensis.*

"*Fr. Ascanius Malasana scribebat Januarii 20, an. 1646.*"

bedding, having only one small bed between them, and no place to relieve the necessities of nature (*horresco referens*) but the room in which they sleep. And the wicked tyrants are not content with this, but they say they will be brought to trial next week, at the assizes; and we fear very much they will be sentenced to death. I beg of you, for God's sake, to pray without ceasing for them. Enough for the present, but God be with you.

"Your own poor man,

"James" [surname in cipher.]

"London, May  $\frac{22}{12}$ , 1643."

"The name of the writer of this very simple but most moving letter, is concealed under a cipher; nor can we venture on any probable conjecture regarding it. The "Cornelius Macguire" to whom it refers, is the ill-fated Lord Macguire, who took a part in the rising of 1641, and was afterwards executed at Tyburn, Feb. 20, 1644. "*Macmahon*" is the "Hugh Macmahone, or Macmahune," whose name is found in Lord Macguire's articles of indictment in the State Trials. Who the "Scottish Captain" may be we have not been able to ascertain.

The particulars of this ill-fated nobleman's trial and death are so extremely affecting, that they will hardly be read without tears. The privilege of trial by his peers having been refused him, he was summarily convicted and condemned to be hung, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, within ten days. He prayed for a short delay, and for the ministration of a Catholic priest in his last hours. It was insultingly refused. He presented a petition to the Commons, praying, in consideration of his rank, at least a mitigation of the indignity to his remains. It was rejected. We give the sequel of his story in the words of the State Trials. Bald and prosaic as it is, it is extremely affecting:—

"On Thursday, February 20th, he was drawn on a sledge from the Tower, through London, and so to Tyburn; when being removed into a cart, he kneeled and prayed awhile; after which Sheriff Gibbs spake to him, representing the heinousness of his crime, and the vast numbers who had been murdered by that conspiracy, for which he was to suffer, and, therefore, exhorted him to express his sorrow for it: to which he answered, 'I desire Almighty God to forgive me my sins.'

"SHERIFF GIBBS.—Do you believe you did well in those wicked actions?

"MACG.—I have but a short time, do not trouble me.

"SHER.—Sir, it is but just I should trouble you, that you may not be troubled for ever.

"MACG.—I beseech you, Sir, trouble me not; I have but a little time to spend.

"SHER.—I shall give you as much time after as you shall spend to give satisfaction to the people; I do require you, as an instrument set in God's hands here, to make an acknowledgment to the people, whether you are sorry for what you have done or no; whether it be good or no.

"MACG.—I beseech you do not trouble me; I am not disposed to give you an account. Pray give me leave to pray.

"DR. SIBBALD.—Give glory to God, that your soul may not be presented to God with the blood of so many thousand people.

"SHER.—You are either to go to heaven or hell. If you make not an ingenuous confession your case is desperate. Had you any commission or not?

"MACG.—I tell you there was no commission that ever I saw.

"SHER.—Who were actors or plotters with you? or, who gave you any commission?

"MACG.—For God's sake give me leave to depart in peace. They then asked him if he had not some pardon or bull from the Pope for what he did? to which he only answered, 'I am not of the same religion with you.' And being further urged about a bull, or pardon, said, 'I saw none of it; all that I knew I delivered on my examinations; all that I said on my examinations are true; all that I said is right. I beseech you let me depart in peace.' And so not returning them any answer to their question, he continued mumbling over a paper, which he had in his hand, as he had done from his first coming. The sheriffs commanded his pockets to be searched, whether he had no bull or pardon about him, but they found in his pocket *only some beads and a crucifix, which were taken from him.* And then Dr. Sibbald said to him, 'Come, my Lord, leave these, and acknowledge your fault to God and the world: one drop of the blood of Jesus Christ is able to purge you of all the heavy load that is upon you; it is not your Ave Marias nor these things will do you any good, but it is Agnus Dei qui tollit peccata Mundi.' The Lord Macguire seemed not to regard his discourse, but read out of his paper to the people as followeth:

"'Since I am here to die, I desire to depart with a quiet mind, and with the marks of a good Christian; that is, asking forgiveness first of God, and next of the world. And I do forgive, from the bottom of my heart, all my enemies and offenders, even those that have a hand in my death. I die a Roman Catholick, and although I have been a great sinner, yet I am now, by God's grace, heartily sorry for all my sins; and I do most confidently trust to be saved, not by my own works, but only by the passion, merits, and mercy of my dear Saviour Jesus Christ, into whose hand I commend

my soul.' And then added, 'I beseech you, gentlemen, let me have a little time to say my prayers.'

"SHER.—Sir, if you answer ingenuously to those questions we shall ask you, you shall have time afterwards; whether do you account the shedding of Protestant blood to be a sin or not, and whether do you desire pardon of God for that sin?

"MACG.—I do desire pardon of God for all my sins: I cannot resolve you in anything for my part.

"SHER.—You can tell what your conscience dictates to you. Do you think it was a sin or not?

"MACG.—For my part I cannot determine it.

"SHER.—Then now it seems nothing to you to kill so many.

"MACG.—How do you mean killing of them? to tell you my mind directly, for the killing, I do not know that, but I think, the Irish had a great cause for their wars.

"SHER.—Was there any assault made upon you? Had you not entered into a covenant? Had you not engaged yourselves by oath to the king?

"MACG.—For Jesus Christ's sake, I beseech you, give me a little time to prepare myself.

"SHER.—Have pity on your own soul.

"MACG.—For God's sake have pity on me, and let me say my prayers.

"SHER.—I say the like to you, in relation to your own soul, whether do you think the massacre of so many thousand Protestants was a good act? For Jesus Christ's sake have pity on your soul.

"MACG.—Pray let me have a little time to say my prayers.

"All this time his eye was mostly on his papers, mumbling something out of them to himself. Whereupon one of the sheriffs demanded these papers from him; he flung them down; they were taken up and given to the sheriff. They asked him further, whether they were not some agreement with the recusants in England? Whereunto he answered, 'I take it upon my death, I do not know that any man knew of it;' and after some other such like talk, the sheriff bidding him prepare for death, he said: 'I beseech all the Catholics here to pray for me. I beseech God to have mercy on my soul:' and so was executed."—*Hargrave's State Trials*, vol. i. pp. 1093-4.

In publishing these isolated papers our chief motive is the hope of securing them from perishing. Single documents, such as these, can seldom be expected to contain a great deal of regular historical information; but, if it were possible to bring a number of them together, much useful light might be obtained. The time we trust is come, when an effort may hopefully be made, and we have little doubt that success may present itself in quarters

where it is least expected. Few, except professed amateurs of Irish antiquities, are aware what a mass of unpublished materials lie scattered through the public and private libraries at home. Of the four hundred whom O'Reilly in his *Irish Writers* enumerates, the vast majority are entirely unknown, though his own MSS. (now unhappily dispersed), contained copies of a large proportion of them. Within the period of which we speak, the list of writers contains the names of several bishops, Oliver Plunket, of Armagh, O'Higgins, of Tuam, Dease, of Meath, and O'Connell, of Clonfert; and of many priests and friars, (especially Franciscans), as Angus O'Daly, Owen O'Duffy, Robert Mac Arthur, Florence Conry, Anthony Gernon, besides the well-known Keating, Mc Cawell, O'Clery, Walsh, Mac Egan, and many others. Many of the poems are of a historical character,\* and, in some cases, letters † and similar papers are included in the list. But independently of these altogether, from the condition of the clergy during the stormy times of which we speak, it would seem highly probable, that there may be in the hands of private individuals, and especially of the representatives of the families of the bishops and clergy of that age, papers, each apparently of little worth, but all forming a body of materials most valuable, in the hands of those to whom the history of the times is familiar. We recollect to have seen, several years since, in a poor hut, in one of the wildest districts of the North of Ireland, a very curious document, once the property of a bishop of the diocese, in the last century; and, though the parties in whose hands it was, were entirely ignorant of its nature, they could not be induced to part with what they regarded as an heirloom in the family.

The same difficulty would always be felt by individual collectors, but we have already suggested the expediency of forming a society, for this and similar antiquarian purposes. With such a body the case would be very different. If its machinery were regularly organised; if some repository were established, as for example, in the library of our national college; if a communication were opened with Irish ecclesiastics in the several capitals, and a search instituted in those quarters where it is likely to be successful, it is impossible not to anticipate a success which

\* See p. cexiii.-iv.

† See p. ccix.



would well reward the effort. The time is especially propitious. We can hardly ever hope to see the feeling of nationality more active or more universal in the country, and we should not forget, that where the material is so perishable, and the fragments so widely dispersed, every delay diminishes, if it do not utterly destroy, the chances of ultimate success.

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ART. VIII.—*Ricordi dei Fratelli Bandiera e dei loro Compagni di Martirio in Cosenza il 25 Luglio, 1844, documentati colla loro corrispondenza.* Editi da GIUSEPPE MAZZINI.

(*Reminiscences of the brothers Bandiera, and of their fellow martyrs at Cosenza on the 25th of July, 1844, with documents from their correspondence.* Edited by GIUSEPPE MAZZINI.) Paris: Lacombe, 1844.

THE author of the pamphlet, the title of which we have prefixed to our article, is a man who has acquired a great and unenviable celebrity on the continent of Europe, and more especially in Italy. He is known as the founder and head of a political sect called “La giovine Italia” (young Italy), and as the constant and indefatigable promoter of those stolid conspiracies and attempts at revolutionising the Italian peninsular, which for the last fourteen years have been the source of unspeakable anxiety to its different governments, and of misery, desolation, and ruin to hundreds, yea, thousands of individuals and families—in many instances, as in the case of the Bandieras, leading them deliberately by the hand, and helping them to ascend the scaffold, there to seal with their blood the crude theories, the impracticable plans, and the monomaniac hatred towards Austria of the master-spirit by which they had been hallucinated.

We have called Mr. Mazzini a master-spirit, because there are such which work evil, as well as others which are the artificers of good—none other could acquire such a sway over his countrymen as to induce not a few, but considerable numbers, to embark in a hopeless struggle, placing in jeopardy fortune, station, and family; none other could, after repeated failures and unvarying disappoint-

ments, ever find fresh volunteers ready to tread in the footsteps of predecessors whose unavoidable fate had been perdition.

Reckless of consequences to those who have had the misfortune to be caught in his meshes, he has continued his career without looking back, without turning to the right or the left, always hoping that the fearful stake he ventures may, notwithstanding the large odds against him, turn up favourably, and seat him in the Capitol on the curule chair of President of the Italian Republic, one and indivisible.

A master-spirit, because it is otherwise impossible to conceive how he can have imposed on people so acute, so sagacious, as Italians generally are, his formulas of civil policy, of which the principal ones are embodied in the tract we are reviewing—formulas containing nothing original, but composed of a deleterious mixture of the dreaming philosophy of Germany and the doctrines of St. Simon, with a sprinkling of Fourierism, diluted with something of the Theophilanthropy of the French revolution.

The debates in the British parliament at the close of the last, and commencement of the present, sessions, respecting the opening of letters in the post-office, have given that individual some notoriety in this country, as those debates originally were founded on a question in which he was concerned; and as there are many erroneous opinions afloat respecting him and the Austrian government, we think it may prove interesting to some of our readers, to take a retrospect view of the insurrections to which we have alluded, and of Mr. Mazzini's connection with them.

It were superfluous to tell our readers, that, during the time when the present Lombardo-Venetian kingdom was subject to the sceptre of Napoleon, the ideas of "liberty and independence" were as little heard of and as little understood there as in France. Towards the close of the struggle which terminated in the downfall of that giant of our age, those words, pronounced among the Germans, mainly contributed to the success of the cause of the world; but when they were made use of in the year 1809, by the Archduke John, in some proclamations addressed to the Italians, they produced as little effect as when about the same period he addressed them to the Hungarians.

The events of 1814 and 1815 brought about a great change, and those words, and the ideas they conveyed,

from having been a tower of strength to the Prussian and other German governments, became a source of uneasiness and danger, which for a long time they vainly sought to quell.

In France, men, who during the whole of their existence, had been subject to the most despotic rules of military discipline, and had never known any law but that of the bayonet—journalists, “*hommes de lettres*,” lawyers, individuals holding civil employments, all these and others, who, like well-trained spaniels, had been accustomed to nothing but to fawn and crouch at the feet of their master, and to whine for the sops which he contemptuously threw at them, suddenly feeling the gripe of their iron collars relaxed, were, by a most inexplicable process, transformed into liberals ardently panting after liberty, not only for themselves but for their neighbours. This love of liberty manifested itself by conspiracies and the formation of secret societies, whose object was the subversion of existing governments; and they extended their machinations to Italy, where their domination a few years before, their intercourse with the people, the similarity of some of their habits, and the influence of their system of education on the rising generation, and on that portion of the population which had attained virility, gave weight to their efforts, and found disciples and imitators. They made the wonderful discovery, that the classic soil of Italy was degraded and polluted by the sway of strangers; and by that peculiar system of logic, which concludes that every thing done by Frenchmen is right, and every thing done by foreigners is wrong; that which, when they were concerned, was a matter quite equitable—the possession of the northern Italian provinces—became a sacrilege and barbarism, when the fate of war and the course of events had transferred them to the Emperor of Austria. Their clamours found even an echo in this country, where the poetical effusions of Byron, as well as the impertinent flippancy and inventive chit-chat of Lady Morgan, succeeded in persuading, that the newly-erected Lombardo-Venetian kingdom was the seat of misrule, and the throne on which stupid tyranny and unwarrantable usurpation were holding their revels. Yet such was not the case.

Lombardy had for centuries always been under foreign domination. From the dominion, often perfidious or sanguinary, seldom inglorious, of its native Viscontis and Sfor-

zas, Milan and a great part of the present Lombardy passed into the hands of the Spaniards, and was upwards of a century and a half oppressed by their dominion. The peace of Utrecht consigned it into the hands of Austria, and for the first time did it, under the fostering care of that power, become acquainted with the blessings of a mild and beneficent administration.

It was particularly during the reigns of Maria Theresa and Joseph the Second that impulse was given to its prosperity; for in the measures, general and local, which those monarchs adopted for the benefit of their subjects, the claims of the Italians were not forgotten or overlooked. It would lead us too far astray from our present purpose to enter into a detail of those measures, the operation of which rendered that small territory, which, despite of constant invasion and misrule, had always been valuable, tenfold more so, and which laid the foundation of that prosperity for which French writers take so much credit to themselves; and it would not be difficult to demonstrate, that far from their being entitled to the credit they assume, the development of literature, science, commerce, and the arts, of which the Austrian government had sown the seeds, was rather counteracted than promoted, by their proconsuls.

The situation of the Venetian provinces was not by far so flourishing as that of Lombardy, at the time when both were made over to Austria.

Venice had long been declining in opulence and importance, and our cruisers, by entirely annihilating its commerce, had struck its death-blow. After the fall of the republic, or rather of the senate, a great part of the nobles whom the jealousy of that singular government had obliged to live in the capital, were at liberty to reside without its precincts, and they were too impoverished not to avail themselves of that liberty. From these and other concomitant causes, the Queen of the Adriatic was half depopulated; some of its most splendid palaces were uninhabited, and offered for sale at prices incredibly low. Such was the state of Venice when it for the second time became a dependency of Austria; but the jealous eyes of many Italians, and the candour of French liberalism, saw in the policy of the Austrian government the causes of that decline which not only was not their act, but which had been brought about when they had no control over its

destinies. The numerous travellers among our own countrymen, who did not look deeper than the surface, and who visited Venice under the influence of instilled prejudice or preconceived ideas, with the associations of Shakspeare and Otway, also imbibed those impressions, and there were not wanting those amongst us who sighed after the halcyon days of the "Lion's mouth," and the "Ponte de' Sospiri."

It is one of the disadvantages of the system pursued by the Austrian government in all their transactions, to shun publicity, that, on the one hand, what is praise-worthy and useful passes unobserved by the mass, and, on the other, the disaffected are able to raise charges, which though based on isolated facts, become formidable when not contradicted or explained. Acts of injustice have undoubtedly been committed by the Austrian, as by every government under the sun; but what is often the fault of a subordinate, the fault of official carelessness or of private enmity, is attributed to the bad will or the evil propensities of the superiors of the really offending party. But regardless of obloquy or of praise, the plans of the Austrian government are meditated, pondered, and matured in silence. They do not allow themselves to be induced by speculative and doubtful theories to undertake any thing new, but when they have seen the working of innovations in other countries where time and experience have allowed their advantages to be tested, and their defects to be displayed, they study the utility to be derived from them, and when the public dreams of nothing of the sort, some great plan is announced, but announced without ostentation, with all its details calculated and preconcerted, and with all the means at hand ready for carrying it into execution. Thus within the last four years, it is they who have brought about post-office reforms on the continent, adopting with modifications the principles of the English system, and by their negotiations or example, inducing some, and shaming other, states to follow their example. Thus within the same period have they organised their system of railroads, and began carrying it into execution almost on the same day on which it was made known, with the means of success at their command, and without entering into previous negotiations with foreign or domestic capitalists.

Adhering to that policy, and heedless of the charges which the public press in many parts of Europe was daily

preferring against them, the Austrian government were silently but sedulously promoting the welfare of the Italian provinces. Many important changes were introduced, the object of which was to assimilate the details of public administration with those of the other portions of its territory.

The Austrian code was substituted for the Code Napoleon; but though in many of their provisions there is no very material difference between them, trial by jury was in consequence abolished, and the system of secret inquisition established in its place. This was by many considered objectionable, and will no doubt be considered so by many of our readers; but it should be borne in mind, that this is the system followed all over Germany, excepting those provinces which formed a part of the French empire; and that even at the time we write, the advantages and disadvantages of both, are being discussed by some of the most able and independent jurisconsults of the continent.

It should further not be overlooked, that even in France, the accused, by a practice widely differing from ours, submits a person accused of any crime to a secret inquisition, which bears the term of "*Instruction*," which sometimes lasts several months before he is placed in presence of the jury; and that, as in the German system, the *onus probandi* almost falls on him, because he is bound to answer in a clear and distinct manner all questions propounded to him, his refusal to do so being interpreted to his disadvantage. We are not the apologists of the system, but we have entered into these explanations because it has often been alleged, that the Austrian government has submitted state prosecutions to secret tribunals, by way of exception; whereas, in so doing, they did not deviate from the forms pointed out by their code, which are the same in a case of murder or of common assault. But whatever may be the defects of the Austrian code, there are two parts of it which alone atone for many and outweigh them: two sections of consummate wisdom, which would be a boon for most countries in Europe, but for none more so than our own—they are those relating to mortgages, and the administration of the property of minors.

Justice, cheap and quick justice, was brought to every man's door and placed within his reach, and the more to facilitate this, a section of the Supreme Aulic Council



of Justice was transferred from Vienna to Verona, to decide in appeal on the litigious affairs of the country.

The powers of the municipalities were re-established on a much broader basis than had been allowed them by the French; the control over their own property was restored to them, and they have thus had it in their power to make public improvements, and consequently promote the fine arts—improvements which, when an Englishman visits many of the towns, but particularly Milan, may well make him blush for what he has left at home.

That government which has so often been taxed with ignorance and opposition to the march of intellect, that the reproach has been almost placed upon the footing of a demonstrated truth, established schools in such numbers, that in the tables of the proportion of the population knowing how to read and write, the inhabitants of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom occupy the rank immediately after Scotland, and if Lombardy be taken alone, one grade higher. Nor were the higher branches of education neglected. Academies were either established, or the number of them increased, in the larger towns; and though a few professors of talent were on account of their principles, (some we are ready to allow harshly, others unjustly), removed from their situations; the universities of Padua and Pavia were under the direction of men who have supported the former well-earned reputation of those establishments, and many of the professors are known by name, others by their writings, to learned Europe. It is true (for it has been a subject of animadversion made by some), that the government watched sedulously to prevent the inculcation of principles inimical to their own existence, and the promulgation of those rationalist doctrines, patronised by some *liberal* governments in Germany, which have brought forth that detestable blasphemy, the Life of Christ by Strauss. To the reproach in question, Austria might triumphantly reply, by pointing to the numerous distinguished individuals in the Italian provinces in general, and at Milan in particular, who successfully cultivate literature, the sciences, and the arts; and as these are not one or two solitary exceptions, but a numerous body, and they have been educated almost to a man in the public establishments, it has a right to assume to itself some credit for the fact.

The funds belonging to pious foundations, such as hos-

pitals, refuge for the old, &c., of which the number and the magnitude are a living monument of Italian munificent charity, and Italian piety, and which had been in some cases partly, in others totally, misapplied by the French to other purposes, were by the Austrian government, not only restored to their pristine destination, but increased by large sums in addition assigned to some, whose means were not quite adequate to the objects of the foundation.

The circumstance alone of the Italian provinces being incorporated with such a large population and extensive territory as those composing the Austrian empire, was sufficient to give a considerable impulse to commerce, and the augmentation of the public wealth.\* In consequence of it the silk manufactories of Lombardy have reached such a pitch of perfection, as to rival Lyons in many, to surpass it in some, of its products. Venice was declared a free port, and though their nearer contiguity to the heart of the empire, renders the ports of Trieste and Fiume successful rivals, a considerable extension was given to its commerce. Public works of great utility were on all sides undertaken, bridges built, the course of streams regulated, the splendid roads over the Stelvio and the Splugen, before which the Simplon dwindles into child's play, were commenced and completed.

The greatest order was introduced into the public finances. The taxes though heavy, were not oppressive, and not heavier than those imposed on other parts of the empire.† The best proof whereof is, that at the time when the

\* We believe that during the French domination the produce of Italy was considered foreign in France, and vice versâ. The two countries were separated by a line of custom-houses. This does not exist under Austria.

† Many writers have been led into errors in making comparisons between the amount of the taxes paid by the Italian and other Austrian subjects. A writer in the "*Giovine Italia*," affirms, that the Germans pay only between eight and nine francs, the Italians, upwards of twenty-seven francs yearly, per head; it would be loss of time to confute this statement. Those authors have overlooked the circumstance, that in Italy the central government pays all the expenses of the country, whereas, in the German provinces, a great portion of them, such as the repairs and construction of roads, bridges, churches, &c., all judicial expenses, and those of local administration, are paid either directly by the lords of manors, the municipalities of towns, or the local governments. Another absurd assertion of the "*Giovine Italia*," is, that between 1814 and 1831, the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom had been drained of 765 millions of specie, which had been carried off into Germany.

The author of an anonymous pamphlet, published in Paris, in 1834, but of which we have reason to believe that Mr. Sismondi, the historian of the Italian Republics, was the author, states the sum of 60 millions yearly, which at the time he wrote would have made the enormous amount of 1,200 millions. As there are neither gold nor silver mines in Italy, it would have been well if they had

French funds were quoted between eighty and ninety, the obligations of the Monte Lombardo Venieo, were at one hundred and ten and upwards; but on this last point we will not lay any stress, as perhaps Mr. Mazzini may be facetious enough to tell us, that this was only owing to the confidence the capitalists reposed in him, as their Messiah and in the millenium of the Italian republic.

The term of military service, which in the other Austrian provinces is fourteen, in the Italian was fixed at eight, years, and the son of the duke or the peasant alike subject to it. Civil employments in all departments were open to them in the whole extent of the empire, and so far from any impediment been thrown in their way, they have advanced more rapidly than the natives of other provinces; a circumstance to be attributed to the superior talents by which they are generally distinguished. In the army, too, the same impartiality has been observed, and there are several Italian generals holding posts of confidence and importance, who during the earlier part of their career served in arms against Austria.

The Italian language was maintained as the medium even of official communication between all departments and Vienna, and in short nothing was done which could affect their nationality.

Such were the measures, or at least the principal ones, adopted immediately after Lombardy and Venice changed rulers; since then the same principles have continued in force, and we would ask any among the thousands of our countrymen who yearly travel through those provinces, if on seeing agriculture so flourishing, and the wealth and prosperity of the inhabitants of the towns, it is possible to come to the conclusion that the country is badly governed.

Such a radical change in the physical and moral condition of the country, could not be brought about without at the same time sowing seeds of discontent. Though the

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informed their readers where all that specie came from. The real fact is, that the revenues of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom are not sufficient to defray the local expenses, and support the army of 80,000 men located there. Specie is constantly being transported from Italy to Germany, and vice versâ, and often from causes dependent on the rates of foreign exchanges. At the latter end of 1840, the reserve in the coffers of the national bank, at Vienna, had dwindled down to less than one million of florins (£100,000 sterling), principally owing to the demand in Italy, and the Directors were obliged, at a very great sacrifice, to purchase bullion in London, Hamburgh, and Paris, to guard against the imminent danger resulting from these circumstances.

arrival of the Austrian army in 1814 had been hailed with joy by the population, who looked upon them as their liberators, it was natural that gratitude or interest should cause many to remain attached to the former order of things. Individuals who had held important stations or dignities, saw their position in society altered; and others who had depended on their influence for advancement in future life, were deprived of the foundation on which they built their hopes. The army was disbanded, and though the option was given to the officers of being incorporated in the Austrian regiments with the loss of one grade in their military rank, the major part refused the offer. In many branches of the administration, persons occupying different offices resigned their posts, and as it was necessary that they should be occupied by others acquainted with the Italian language, almost all important civil and judicial offices were conferred on Tyrolese; and such was the dearth of proper subjects, that they were, we fear, in many instances filled by individuals whom, under other circumstances, the Austrian government would not have placed in stations where not only talent, but a conciliatory temper, was necessary.

The vindictive and stupid measures adopted by some of the other Italian governments, which had not even sense enough to set prejudice aside in order to forward the material interests of their subjects and their own, created a general spirit of discontent among the middle classes, and opened all over the surface of Italy an ample field for tillage to the secret societies of Paris, which, through their emissaries, organised that secret association called the "Carbonari," who extended their branches over the whole of the peninsula, and whose workings are probably still fresh in the recollection of many of our readers: their object was the overthrow of the existing governments, and the formation of an Italian republic. This sect had for its members men of all ranks and conditions of life; but though they were enabled to inspire uneasiness and apprehension in the different governments of that country, no overt act of importance was attempted, until the support given to them by Spanish intrigues and Spanish subsidies brought about the military insurrections of Naples in 1820, and of Piedmont in 1821, both of which, as our readers know, were extinguished by the "*veni, vidi, vici*" of the Austrians.

The secret activity of the "Carbonari" called forth on the part of the governments repressive measures; and it is not to be wondered if unfounded suspicions and malicious accusations, in some instances, made individuals undergo unmerited suffering or annoyance; for, to the workings of a secret society nowhere visible, and not over-scrupulous in the means it employed, it was necessary to oppose also secret practices, and employ a detective police.

The position which Austria had taken up as chief of the conservative governments of Europe, naturally rallied to it the cabinets of the smaller Italian states, the princes of which were all, with the exception of the Pope, in a nearer or remoter degree, allied to the Emperor by family ties, and, hence, both on account of its avowed principles, and as being the most powerful barrier to their designs, the hatred of the conspirators was mostly felt towards it, and they considered with reason, that if they could succeed in revolutionising its Italian provinces, and upsetting its power, the other states must of necessity share the same fate. Hence, their intrigues were directed with the greatest activity to that sphere, and numerous affiliations were made.

As may be supposed, these manœuvres did not escape the vigilance of the Austrian government. Counteracting measures were resorted to, in the execution of which there was not always an absence from asperity; these in their turn multiplied the number of the discontented, and they again by reaction gave more force to the ill-humour of the authorities, till by degrees disaffection on one side, suspicion and mistrust on the other, totally separated not an inconsiderable portion of the population and their rulers.

In considering the events we are narrating, it is necessary not to lose sight of the personal character and circumstances of the then reigning sovereign. A better man, or a more virtuous prince, never adorned the throne, than Francis the first, Emperor of Austria. Educated by his uncle the Emperor, Joseph the Second, as his future successor, he had learned from him those humane sentiments, those principles of justice, and that constant assiduous attention to public affairs, that ardent interest of feeling in the welfare of his subjects, which were the distinguishing characteristics not only of his tutor, but of a long race of ancestors before him. Without brilliant talents, he was a man of a superior education and solid good sense. The

heroic courage, constancy, and resignation, with which he bore misfortunes almost unequalled, the stubborn indomitable resolution with which he struggled to rescue his subjects from the yoke which was oppressing them, are matters of history. Called to ascend the throne at the worst period of the French revolution, he had felt almost the first brunt of its horrors and excesses, in the murder of his aunt the unfortunate Marie-Antoinette, and the loss of his Dutchy of Milan; peaceable by temperament and from reflection, he had nevertheless been compelled to wage unceasing and unsuccessful war, and attributed to that revolution and its principles all the afflictions he had undergone. Hence (being human, he had his weaknesses), he looked with horror upon every attempt or doctrine which, in his opinion, attacked or sapped his rights, as the most heinous of crimes, and visited with too much severity puny indiscretions, which the consciousness of his own power and the insignificance of his assailants ought perhaps to have induced him to overlook. The unreserved and uncompromising manner in which, on some occasions, he had expressed his ideas on the subject, did not abate the unpopularity of the measures alluded to before. But notwithstanding his sensitiveness on the head of his rights, it will always remain an honour to his memory, that while in most countries of Europe the scaffold had been stained with the blood of political offenders, in his dominions none was shed from political motives during his reign.

One measure which considerably widened the breach deserves particular notice. During the revolution of Piedmont in 1821, a number of young men, students at the university of Pavia, fled thence, and joined the insurrectionary troops at Alessandria, where they were organised into a corps bearing the name of the battalion of Minerva. Less than a month sufficed to put an end to that revolution, and by a decree of the emperor they were expelled from the university; a sentence which, according to the laws of the country, not only excluded them from public employments, but prevented them from following any liberal professions—their prospects were in consequence ruined for life. It would have been more politic on the part of the government if, considering the youth and inexperience of the offenders, their rash and inconsiderate act had been visited with a more lenient punishment; for the result was not only to create a body of enemies, who, driven by de-



spair, were, later, the most zealous and active agents in the propagation of revolutionary doctrines, but they enlisted on their side the sympathies of most of their fellow students, of their relatives and connections, as well as of many others who looked upon that resolution as an act of oppression. This state of things continued, until in 1830 the revolution which triumphed in Paris gave new hopes, and held out prospects of success to the enemies of the Italian government. The secret societies redoubled their activity, and were encouraged, not only by the French press and the republicans, but even by the prince whom that revolution had placed upon the throne. Whether it was that that wily monarch had not judged it then proper to break, as he afterwards did, with the instruments which had wrought his elevation, or that he wished to embarrass the continental governments which he considered inimical to his cause, half-official agents encouraged and inflamed the conspirators—agents who were official enough to inspire confidence in the turbulent, not official enough to prevent their being disavowed in case of necessity.

It was at this period that Mr. Mazzini began to become a person of consequence. The designation of Carbonaro had become in Europe a term of opprobrium, and he and his friends gave a new organisation to the society; and as their doctrines were borrowed from the French convention, and their party was also French; and as their inventive powers did not enable to devise a name of their own; so as there was a "*Jeune France*" they determined that there should also be a "*Giovine Italia*." This object, however, was the overthrow of the reigning dynasties of Italy. As the name indicated, they called particularly the youth of Italy to join them; every art of seduction and of flattery, every means of inflaming blind prejudice, was resorted to, and the different governments found that they had an enemy whose restless activity, extensive correspondence and talents, were not objects to be despised, or looked on with indifference.

The first fruits of these machinations were the out-breaking in the spring of 1831 of an insurrection in Modena, Parma, and Bologna, to which the Austrian troops, of course, soon gave the death blow, almost by their mere presence—the only shots exchanged were in the neighbourhood of Rimini, where the insurgents from an ambush behind a hedge wounded an Austrian officer—one corpo-

ral and eight men entered into Rimini, and found in the streets not one single insurgent—they had all disappeared. In Piedmont an attempt, though abortive, was made at insurrection, but the government was not to be trifled with, and sixty-five of the principal conspirators were arrested and tried; thirty-two were condemned to death, of whom twelve were executed; some of those condemned to capital punishment had been prudent or fortunate enough to get out of the way, and among them was Mr. Mazzini. At Modena also, the chief of the attempt, Ciro Menotti, met an untimely end. It is not our intention to write the history either of those events, or of subsequent similar ones; our object is, to show the baneful effects of the principles and operations of that sect of which Mr. Mazzini is the founder and the head.

After the tragic termination of those partial insurrections, we find Mr. Mazzini at Marseilles, where he founded a journal entitled the "*Giovine Italia*," of the morality of which an estimate may be formed by the fact, that a letter of the younger Bandiera, of which we find an extract in Mr. Mazzini's pamphlet, informs us that he imbibed from it, when a boy, the principles and ideas which led him to his unfortunate end. Nor was his activity limited to this. Italy was inundated with proclamations, political catechisms, and other publications of the most subversive tendency, some of which were signalized by the cynism of their language; every possible means was adopted to urge the people to revolution, and at the beginning of 1834, Mr. Mazzini quitted Marseilles and repaired to Switzerland, where the man who professes such a hatred to the Austrians, because they are strangers, organised a band of between 700 and 800 men, with the intention of entering Italy to *liberate it*; among whom, small as the number was, there were only fifty or sixty Italians. The rest were Poles, Frenchmen, Swiss, and Germans. Mr. Mazzini accompanied them in the capacity of "President of the Provisional Government," but after making an inroad into Savoy, and scaring away a post of custom-house officers, they retired before the first troops that were sent against them, and, after a campaign of thirty-six hours, disbanded themselves. In their retreat, however, they did not forget to carry off with them the money deposited in the receiver's office at the custom-house. This lawless attempt, which had been connived at by the authorities of

Geneva and Lausanne, called forth remonstrances from several of the European cabinets, which led to the demand that the treasonable practices of the refugees should be put a stop to. Mr. Mazzini having been, in consequence, obliged to quit Switzerland, we find him later at Malta, from whence he continued his intrigues and provocations. In the mean time the communications he had maintained with the Austro-Italian provinces, led to the melancholy result, that upwards of 800 persons, many of them of good families, were arrested and prosecuted for high treason, and more than two or three times that number emigrated to avoid a similar fate; among the latter were, of course, the active agents of the "*Giovine Italia*." Those who suffered, were mostly young men of fortune and rank, the dupes of adventurers who had nothing to lose.

During the same year a circumstance occurred which we cannot pass over in silence. In the town of Rhodéz, in France, some Italian emigrants were sitting at mid-day at the door of a coffee-house; among them was a woman—another Italian, also an emigrant, drew out a stiletto, and plunged it into her heart. He assigned as his motive, that she was a spy of the Austrian police; and, on being brought to trial, his life was saved by the allegation of his counsel, that he had been induced to the deed by the orders of a secret society called "*La Giovine Italia*." We do not give any opinion on the case, we mention merely what all the French papers stated at the time.

The amnesty granted by the Emperor, at the time of his coronation at Milan, as well as other conciliatory measures, allayed a great deal of the bad feeling entertained towards the Austrian government, and the attention of the *Giovine Italia* was turned to the papal states, where their activity was crowned by the executions at Bologna of 1843 and 1844.

After having taken a cursory view of the misfortunes brought upon Italy by its pretended redeemers, our readers will naturally ask what are the principles for the triumph of which the "*Giovine Italia*" has so zealously struggled, and on this point we confess our inability to satisfy their curiosity. That man must be endowed with a more than ordinary portion of analytical perspicacity, who from Mr. Mazzini's meditations for the benefit of his countrymen, can extract any thing but some stale ideas borrowed from Rousseau's "*Contrat Social*," or from the san-

guinary demagogues of the French revolution. His nostrum, which is to cure all the evils of Italy, is to overturn what exists, and establish a republic. But as to the plan for future government, or a broad delineation of the policy to be followed, as he knows nothing himself, so he can communicate nothing to his readers. The only concrete and tangible idea is, therefore, that of destruction.

It is true we find some vague hints, which lead us to think that he would establish a federal republic like that of Switzerland; of that country which has been a prey to blind fury and lawless violence ever since those marts in France, Spain and Naples, which offered employment to its mercenary valour, have been suppressed, and the inhabitants of which seem determined to wreak on each other that proverbial brutality which they formerly vented on strangers.\*

We have pointed out the manner in which the Austrian government acted towards the Italian provinces immediately after they were added to its empire, and from that line of policy it has never swerved; but because there may be some things which in the eyes of the *Giovine Italia* may not be right, Mr. Mazzini does not propose a plan of reform, but the overthrow of the Emperor, who is as legitimately their sovereign, as our gracious queen is legitimate sovereign of these realms. Ever since the time of Charles the Fifth the Dutchy of Milan has belonged to one branch or another of the house of Hapsburg, with the exception of the few years during which the French were in possession of it, as they were of Hanover.—As to Venice, we at least think that no change from its oligarchy could be for the worse, unless indeed it had become a Russian province, and even then we have our doubts. It is true, the Emperor is a German, but so were two of Queen Victoria's ancestors. William the Third was a Dutchman, but we do not find that our forefathers felt themselves degraded on that account.—The names of

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\* Per allargare inanzi al Rè la via  
Menava quella mazza fra la gente;  
Ch'un imbrociato Svizzero paria  
Di quei, che con vilan modo insolente,  
Sogliono inanzi 'l Papa il dì di festa,  
Romper e a chi le braccia, a chi la testa.

(Tassoni. *La Secchia rapita.*)

According to a Spanish proverb, "The animal which bears the greatest resemblance to man is a Swiss."

*El animal que mas se semeja a un hombre es un Suizo.*

many of the German dignitaries or employés, may sound barbarous to Italian ears; but so do ours to the Chinese, and we much doubt if the mellifluous names of the Italians, including even the revered patronymic of Mr. Mazzini himself, would not be qualified by an epithet corresponding to "barbarous" by a Cherokee or a Samoyede.

Then the unity of Italy. There never existed such a thing. We will ask Mr. Mazzini, what were a great part of Piedmont and Lombardy under the Romans? Why—they were not even considered as a part of Italy—they were a part of *Gallia cisalpina*. During the middle ages, where was the unity of Italy? Every body has read Sismondi's history of the Italian republics; and what does that heavy work contain, but a series of contentions, and of wars waged between town and town, we had almost said between village and village. Not only the north but the south of Italy has been more than once under the dominion of strangers. Of Naples and Sicily, the Saracens, the Germans, the French, the Aragonese, the Spaniards, have at different times, been the masters (of the one or the other, or of both); and when that was the case, did the Florentine or the Genoese rise in arms to repel the stranger and the invader? On the contrary, they often aided them—and why? because there was no sympathy between them. Try to create their enthusiasm, by recalling the glorious deeds of their ancestors, and what will be a motive of exultation to the Venetian, will be a humiliation to the Genoese. Tell the industrious Lombard of the present day, that he and the Neapolitan *lazzarone* are the same, and you will insult him.

The unity of language? But it is the great mistake of men, who, like Mr. Mazzini, deal in abstractions, to suppose that language is a bond of unity. The Portuguese is not more different from the Spanish, than the dialect of Lombardy from the pure musical pronunciation of Rome—yet who hates a Portuguese like a Spaniard, or a Spaniard like a Portuguese? Again, the Catalan does not even understand Spanish—his tongue is that of Roussillon, and of the centre of France—of the Limousin—but has the Catalan any attachment to, or hankering after, the French? In the war of independence against Napoleon, no one better taught the French, aye and the Italians too, that he considered himself a Spaniard. The same may be said of the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine. There are tens of

thousands there who do not speak any language but German; but are they in their feelings, in their principles, in their attachments, any thing but Frenchmen?

Tell the Lombard or Neapolitan peasant to take a musket and bring down the first man he meets in a military uniform, to establish Italian unity, and you will make yourself as ridiculous as the sapient German, who from time to time favours the *Allgemeine Zeitung* with articles on the necessity of forming a German navy, in order to carry we know not whither, in ships built and manned we know not where, the flag of German unity.

Mr. Mazzini is aware of this; for in one of his contributions to the "*Giovine Italia*," in an article worthy of the pedantic Greek "*Rhetor*," who lectured Hannibal on the art of war, after talking of the anarchy and disorders which would be the first consequence of revolutionising Italy, he says: "These dangers, which are inevitable for any people which breaks out into insurrection, would, perhaps, be of longer duration for us who have more causes of division, and greater difficulties to encounter, than those nations in whom the first and great fusion has been brought about at a previous period by a military despotism." (*Della guerra d'insurrezione che conviene all'Italia*. Marseilles, 1833.) And of this thesis he has had sufficient demonstration. All the insurrections brought about in Italy by the secret societies have been partial—they have been the act of a few isolated men—sometimes a few hundreds or a few thousands have joined them; for it is not difficult in any country, and less so in Italy than in any other, to find bandits who may be lured by the hope of pillage, or thoughtless individuals who seek the excitement of adventure.

In 1820 the army at Naples changed the form of their government, and, nevertheless, the rest of Italy looked on with indifference; yet there were only fifteen or twenty thousand Austrians in that country. In 1821 the troops in Piedmont followed the example of the Neapolitans, but when the latter were already beaten; and the population looked upon them with aversion and mistrust. On that occasion, General Berbua marched with a few thousand men hastily collected from the Austrian garrisons, and within forty-eight hours the Piedmontese insurrection was at an end, and the citadel of Alessandria was garrisoned by Austrian troops. Was there any stir in Lombardy, or



Modena, or the Roman legations? None whatever—a few students from Pavia joined the insurgents; but as to Milan, so little apprehension had General Berbua, that he merely left in one of the barracks 800 men, with two guns, the one pointed on the Scala, the other on the Duomo. In 1831, during the insurrections of Modena, Parma, and Bologna, when the Modenese retired before an Austrian detachment, the Bolognese refused to admit them on their territory if they did not first lay down their arms. In 1843 and 1844, during the troubles in Romagna, a few unfortunate men of education, victims of the “Giovine Italia,” with a reinforcement of highway robbers and other desperate characters, though holding out for some weeks, and carrying on the species of warfare which Mr. Mazzini in the tract referred to had recommended, were not seconded by any demonstration from any quarter, and were executed without even the demonstration of military force to contain the population, who looked on with the most perfect indifference.

In 1834, when the intrigues of the “Giovine Italia” were at their highest, when the political prisoners in the Austrian gaols were numbered by hundreds, and the emigrants by thousands: a council was held in the Canton of Lugano, at which Mr. Mazzini presided, for the purpose of concerting their plan of operation. Our readers will recollect the Greeks disputing on an abstruse point of theology, while the Saracens were storming the walls of Constantinople; others, will not have forgotten the Spanish Cortes of 1823 gravely deliberating on the number of buttons to be worn on military uniforms, when the Duke of Angoulême, with 80,000 men, had already passed the Bidassoa, and was within a few days’ march from Madrid. Well—“*Omnia trina sunt perfecta*,” the conference led to no result, because the sanhedrim could not agree upon the future capital of Italy, each member claiming that pre-eminence for his own town.

In the name of common sense let us hear no more of the unity of Italy.

But, supposing it attainable, is unity, then, such a benefit? Undoubtedly it is, in France, because it gives half a dozen “*faiseurs*,” of the description of Mr. Mazzini, the power of changing a government, and converts the whole of the population into puppets, the strings by which they are moved being the strings of the telegraph. Let the

fortifications of Paris be terminated, and the French will receive one practical lesson more of the benefits of that unity which they so much admire.

In our age there has been no lack of revolutions; and how many great men have they produced? France has had the unexampled good fortune to possess two: Napoleon, and Louis Philippe: and their tack has been to undo what the revolution had done. The great men, the disinterested patriots, the lovers of liberty, who for several years kept their own country and the major part of Europe in an uproar, as soon as they got their share of the loaves and fishes, ate their own words, and clapped their hands at the bombardment of Lyons. And where is the guarantee of Mr. Mazzini's greatness; of his capacity to guide a revolution, if the Italians had been so unfortunate as to have been the sport of his designs? We find him incapable of properly weighing the most material obstacles: thus, when some of his associates talk of 240,000 Austrian troops (or, as Mr. Mazzini sarcastically styles them, 80,000 Austrians multiplied by three) he merely derides them. In the whole of his career he has taken an active part only in one expedition, which he was months in preparing—that predatory incursion into Savoy, in 1834. That ill-fated expedition was born, lived, and died, in the space of thirty-six hours: its span of existence was equal to that of several species of microscopical infusoria. Its failure generated recriminations between Mr. Mazzini and General Romarino, the military chief: articles in newspapers and pamphlets they hurled at each other's heads, like the heroes in Boileau's *Lutrin*. Romarino, who certainly had opportunities of knowing Mr. Mazzini, addresses to him the following words: "There is at the bottom of my soul a voice which tells me, that those very persons, into whose keeping I had made over my person and my honour, had only in view to make the one and the other a rampart to screen their want of foresight, hide their unskilfulness, and obtain, by immolating me, pardon for their unpardonable delusions."—*Précis des derniers évènements en Savoye, par le General Romarino*. Paris: 1834.

But let Austria console herself, and support with philosophy Mr. Mazzini's disapprobation and censures, for *our* government and constitution, are, it seems, founded on a *lie*, so at least he tells us in the 47th page of his pamphlet. Austria, at all events, is not in bad company; Mr. Maz-

zini's benevolent sentiments have probably taken us within their range, and he has, no doubt, in his portfolio, the plan of our regeneration, and he will, when the proper time arrives, deck us out in the brilliant garb of truth.

Mr. Mazzini's animadversions on us have been called forth by the conduct of the post-office authorities, and he speaks on the subject in no very measured terms; he attributes to the British government the discovery of his plots, and the fate of the *Bandieras*. Lord Aberdeen has triumphantly vindicated, not only himself, but also the Austrian and Neapolitan cabinets, from the aspersions Mr. Mazzini throws upon them. If the Italian governments make use of, and have a larger police establishment, who has compelled them to it? Where was the Austrian police before 1820? But it is really too much that the secret societies should wish to monopolize secrecy, and to pretend that they are to be allowed to adopt any measures, to have recourse to any means of seduction and conspiracy they may think proper, and their destined victims are to hold their throats to be cut by them. If Mr. Mazzini were just, he would say:—

“*Hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim.*”

But, after all, has Mr. Mazzini cause to complain? We do not intend to enter into the merits of the question in general. The majority of the House of Commons seemed to be of opinion, that the practice of opening letters is sometimes necessary, and Mr. Ward said that it was impossible to govern without it. We will content ourselves with saying, that if the power of opening letters does legally exist, and is ever to be used, it is in the case of individuals like Mr. Mazzini. Since 1814 England has invariably had considerable numbers of emigrants located on her territory; they have been of all parties, and from all European nations; the French republican and royalist; the Polish proscrip; the Spanish, the Italian liberal; all have been received with an hospitality of which only a few ungrateful individuals deny us the honour; they have found on our shores refuge and protection. But at the same time that we protect a foreigner from the merited or unmerited vengeance of his government, that government has in its turn the right to call upon us to protect it, as far as in our power, from the machinations of those emigrants who endanger its repose. If no other motive existed, it

would be a duty incumbent on it, a duty of common humanity, to guard its subjects from being the victims of unprincipled men, and from mixing in conspiracies, which if it have not the power to restrain, it will have the unavoidable obligation to punish.

There have often been cases of forgers of foreign bank-notes in this country, to detect whom means have been resorted to which, considered in the abstract, were certainly not very creditable; yet no syllable of indignation escaped from a single organ of the public press. But let a foreign political adventurer plan and effect murder and sedition abroad; let him but have conspired against an established foreign government, no matter what his motives may have been, whether actuated by a restless ambition to acquire a station to which neither his talents, nor his wealth, nor his birth, nor his virtues entitled him, or whether he had real grievances to redress, or wished merely to carry absurd theories into effect; he is sure of a triumph in England, and he may invite the by-standers to follow him to the Capitol, and thank the Gods that they have sent them a hero to admire. It was unfortunate for the Cato-street conspirators that the scene of their exhibition was London; had it been Vienna, or Madrid, or Naples, and they had had the good luck to reach our shores unscathed, they might have counted at least on an ovation.

If proper powers had been vested, a lamentable catastrophe would perhaps have been averted—and if the limits of existing legal power had been passed, it would have been a less evil in the eyes of every man of humanity and proper feeling, than the misfortune of the Bandieras and their associates, brought about by the doctrines and the schemes of Mr. Mazzini. As, however, this incident forms the subject of the pamphlet we are reviewing, and has been the cause which has placed him prominently before the public, we will give some details, principally collected from that publication.

We learn from Mr. Mazzini, that he first entered into direct communication with the Bandieras, in the *second half* of the year 1842, at which time he received a letter from the elder of the brothers, from which he gives some extracts. It contains his political profession of faith, and expresses a wish to concert together the best means of freeing Italy, by raising the standard of freedom and regeneration. This communication Mr. Mazzini received

through the medium of Domenico Moro, one of the unfortunate associates of the Bandieras, with them executed at Cosenza. But Mr. Mazzini studiously keeps out of view one very important fact; and that is, that this same Domenico Moro came into this country with the Archduke Frederick, when he visited it in the month of September of that year, and was, we believe, an officer on board the *Bellona*, of which that prince was the commander. There is no doubt that they had one or more interviews together; for Mr. Mazzini informs us, that besides delivering the letter in question, Moro *communicated to him a verbal message*, with which he had been encharged by Attilio Bandiera. Thus, then, we have two officers wearing the Austrian uniform, holding commissions in the Austrian navy, and receiving Austrian pay, who had gone through the usual solemn ceremony of invoking the Holy Trinity to witness their oath of allegiance to the Austrian Emperor, pronounced before the Austrian banner, not only in communication with the arch-enemy of their sovereign, but planning with him the means of creating a rebellion in the Italian provinces of the Austrian empire. We believe there is not one single man, woman, or child in these realms, who, if asked for the proper term by which they ought to be designated, would not instantly pronounce the word *Traitors*; but Mr. Mazzini has the assurance to hold up men capable of perpetrating such abominable infamies, as becoming models for the imitation of the Italians. Nor is this all: in another part of his work he says, "Some of the Bandieras' friends flattered themselves with the hope, that the Archduke Frederick, who had been a disciple of the rear-admiral's" (the father of the Bandieras), "and a fellow-scholar, as well as a fellow-soldier of Emilio's, would be induced to intercede spontaneously for them; but such persons had not a *practical knowledge of the Austrian princes, nor of the cold, infernal, immutable policy of the Austrian government.*" And it is Mr. Mazzini, the cold, immutable, Mephistopheles of young Italy, who has the audacity to hurl such a sarcasm, not only at the young prince in question, who, for all we or Mr. Mazzini know to the contrary, may, perhaps, have uselessly interceded for them; but against *all* the princes of the house of Hapsburg, numerous as they are, who, we will take the liberty of telling Mr. Mazzini, are in the opinion of every person *who has a practical knowledge of them*, without one

single exception distinguished by their condescension, their benevolence, their useful, enlightened, and well-directed attention to public business, and, in a word, by the exercise of every Christian virtue.

But to resume our subject. From the moment of Moro's visit, a direct and constant communication seems to have been kept up between the elder Bandiera (Attilio) and Mazzini, in which the younger (Emilio), who seems to have acted completely under the influence of his brother, later participated. Were it not for the tragical termination of their reveries, a smile would unavoidably move our lips at reading their views as to partitioning and re-organising the whole of Europe—every country in it, with the sole exception of the British islands, has the benefit of their plans, and we are reminded of the deliberation of the mice in the fable, on the means which might be most adequate to suspending bells to the necks of cats. It appears that the Bandieras were in constant deliberation with other associates, and impatient to give the signal of revolt, but that they were prevented by one trifling circumstance, namely, that the collective patriotism and enthusiasm of the conspirators could not induce them to club together and make the sacrifice of the enormous sum of ten thousand francs, a sum which the Bandieras seem to have considered sufficient to commence the overthrow of all the existing governments of Italy. There are bitter complaints in the correspondence on this subject, and it seems that to ask for the sinews of war, was equivalent to putting an extinguisher upon every project proposed. So long as talking only was in question, all were ready to make sacrifices, but when it came to the touch, every body drew back. Whether it was that the Bandieras had reason to suppose that their intentions had transpired, and that they were watched, or that they were burning with eagerness to throw down the gauntlet, they in concert took the decisive step of deserting, the one on the twenty-eighth of February, at Smyrna, the other on the twenty-fourth of the same month, at Trieste. The younger repaired, in the first instance, to Corfu, whither he was followed by his mother, at the instigation of the Archduke Regnier, Viceroy of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, to induce him to return to his duty and allegiance. The Archduke had pledged his *sacred word of honour* that not only the past would be forgiven, but that his rank, nobility,



and honourable distinctions would be maintained; he added that he would be considered as the victim of *unprincipled and wicked intriguers*, and that his conduct would be attributed to the inconsiderateness of youth. The ill-advised young man, deaf to the entreaties and representations of his mother, rejected this offer, which every man of common sense would attribute to compassion towards him, and to regard and consideration for the eminent services of his distinguished father. Not so Emilio and Mr. Mazzini—to what do they attribute it? To fear on the part of the Austrian government!

The two brothers met at Malta, where they were joined by Moro, who also deserted from his ship, which put in there; and thence they addressed to the Austrian authorities a defiance, which they further inserted in a Maltese newspaper. This document contains nothing remarkable, except the disgusting insolence of the language in which their ideas are couched; but is by Mr. Mazzini, as a matter of course, considered a master-piece of patriotic effusion. Their number was shortly increased by the accession of another individual, by name, Ricciotti; who, after having spent some years in the prisons of Italy, for the part he had taken in an insurrection, had subsequently tried his hand again at that game in the movements of 1833 and 34, and, finally, was one of the foreign adventurers who engaged in the Spanish service, in which he had attained the rank of major. From that country this individual came to England, *for the purpose of taking Mazzini's orders*, and the latter provided him with money and means of proceeding to Malta (*p.* 55), where he joined the Bandieras. We lay stress on this circumstance, because Mr. Mazzini is very anxious to wash himself from the blood of the Bandieras, by establishing that the expedition was undertaken against his will; but, in addition to this fact, coupled with the whole tenor of the mangled extracts of the correspondence which he thinks proper to communicate, he incautiously makes the admission (*p.* 27), "that the Bandieras, *and he agreed with them*, were of opinion that the proper moment had arrived for making a demonstration." In his narrative of the circumstances there is sufficient internal evidence to establish, that during several months they were urged and encouraged to proceed on their mad enterprise—

whether to Calabria, or any other point of Italy, is of very little consequence.

But we must do Mr. Mazzini justice: he at last did change his opinion, but when? Let us see.

The Bandieras appear to have been in a state of uncertainty as to the point to be chosen for commencing their operations; several plans were formed and abandoned; they tell Mazzini that they are selling every thing of value, and that in order to raise funds sufficient, they intend to apply to one of his friends, also one of the chiefs of the "*Giovine Italia*," for an advance of 3,000 francs, which Mazzini had some time before offered them. But that friend refused them the money. We do not wish to cast on Mr. Mazzini any imputation which cannot be supported by facts; but our readers will allow, that it is rather a strange coincidence that Mr. Mazzini never wrote one single word to dissuade them from their dangerous course until the unfortunate question of a few francs is brought on the tapis. After this period, he does discourage them; but even then he dissuades them from undertaking *some particular* expedition they meditated, but seems only opposed to that special point, and not to its being undertaken on some other. Such is the impression produced on our minds by the fragment which he produces in his own justification. The sequel of the story is not long; it has been recently narrated in parliament; suffice it to say, that they embarked at Corfu, landed in Calabria, were surrounded by the peasants, tried, and nine of them executed—the others received milder sentences. Among the nineteen adventurers, two were not even Italians—one was a Calabrian, of whom they tell Mazzini, that he is acquainted with the country, and was accustomed to encounters with the gens d'armes. Many of our readers have been in Italy, and know what description of individuals it is that have encounters with gens d'armes, and particularly in Calabria: so we really cannot pay a very high compliment to Mr. Mazzini's discretion—we think it would have been much to the credit of his friends if he had suppressed this intelligence.

In the last letter which they write to Mr. Mazzini, and of which he gives an extract, his friends transmit to him an account of their military measures; and though "*The Times*" has with justice observed, that they died the victims only of their own bad passions, we cannot but be

moved with a feeling of compassion, when we behold two young men of rank, education, and generous feeling, however much these may have been abused and misdirected by others, gravely writing to Mazzini, that they are going to revolutionise Italy with nineteen men—and the *first* articles of a constitution in their pockets.

This was the termination of the last act of prowess of the "*Giovine Italia*"—we hope it will be the means of breaking up a small gang of desperadoes, who, though dispersed in different parts of Europe, are still devising the means of keeping up excitement, and of fomenting trouble in Italy. These pretended patriots are the worst enemies of their country, for they not only compel the Italian governments to spend, in precautionary measures for preserving the public peace, large sums of money which might be applied to better purposes, but they further prevent improvements from being made, which, under present circumstances, would have the semblance of concessions to fear.

It would be supposed, that after so many disappointments, that after seeing his plans and those of his associates so often frustrated, Mr. Mazzini, rendered wiser by experience, would desist from an undertaking which has no prospect of success, and which, if it ever reach maturity, can do so only at a very distant period—that if prudential considerations cannot make him relent, the consciousness of having caused so much misfortune, the view of those scaffolds where so much blood has been shed, and on which he and he alone has been the real executioner, rising to haunt him at the midnight hour, would induce him to halt in his desperate, and we must call it, his inhuman career. But Mr. Mazzini is not a man to be deterred by such trifles. There seems to be some fatal influence which urges him forward, and does not allow him to stop.

We transcribe the following passage, which forms the conclusion of his pamphlet; the extract is rather long, but we do it in order to justify the foregoing assertions, as well as to give our readers an idea of Mr. Mazzini's doctrines and style, of both of which it is a fair specimen. After describing the execution of the ill-fated men he says, "They looked round at the few spectators who were mute but sorrowful, shouted *Viva l' Italia!* (live Italy!) and fell down dead."

"Viva l' Italia! Shall this cry, O youths! be a bitter irony, or sanctified as it is by the last sacrifice of the best amongst us, will you take it up in order to incarnate it in your own existence? In the name of those martyrs who died to redeem you, if from nothing else, at least from the reproach of cowardice which all Europe attributes to you; in the name of our common country, I ask you, will you pronounce those words in the face of persecution, in the midst of the illusions of your souls, with the scaffold staring at you in the face, or will you, as if you were the drunken Helots of Europe, ingulfed in the stupid and vicious habits of slavery, exclaim, Death to Italy! Death to Honour! Perish the memory of the martyrs! Long live the cap of the Jesuit! long live the stick of the German!

"While hypocritically lamenting the fate of the Bandieras and their companions in a beautiful death, many among you will tell you that martyrdom is not only sterile, but baneful; that the death of the good, unless it bring forth the fruits of immediate victory, weighs down those who are already desponding, and discourages the multitude; that it is better at present instead of acting prematurely, to remain inactive, to lull our enemy to repose, and to avail ourselves of the first propitious event which may occur in Europe, to slay him in his sleep. Lend not your ears, O youths! to such words.

"Despicable politicians, and still worse believers, the men who thus lay snares for the sanctity of your souls, debase our *Faith* by mixing it up with the fallacious calculations of a petty political question. Such men would, in the day of persecution, have denied the virtue of the Cross of Christ, and would later have exalted it in pompous terms; if the duration of their existence had been prolonged until that day when Constantine surmounted the symbol of martyrdom with the symbol of victory. Martyrdom is never sterile; martyrdom suffered for an abstract idea, is the most exalted formula to which the human *I* can attain, in order to give expression to its own mission; and when a just man arises in the midst of his prostrate brethren, and exclaims, 'Behold, this is the truth, and I lay down my life in the act of adoring it,' a spirit of new life is transfused through the whole of human nature, because every man reads on the forehead of the martyr a line of his own duties, and sees how great a power to fulfil them God has given to his creatures.

"The victims of Cosenza have taught every one of us, that it is the duty of man to live and die for his creed; they have proved to the world, that the Italians know how to die; they have given consistency throughout Europe to the opinion, that an Italy will one day exist. The faith for which similar men seek death, as the youth seeks the embrace of his affianced, is not the frenzy of culpable agitators, or the dream of a few deluded men; it is a religion in embryo, it is a decree of Providence. It is from the

flame of our country issuing from their sepulchres, that the genius of Italy will light sooner or later the torch which will for the third time cast its rays of light from Rome—not from papal (as false prophets insinuate) which was once great, but is now, despite their bubble, worn out for ever—but from the Rome of the people—to illuminate for human nature the high road of advancement.

“Italy is called, O youths! to fulfil high destinies. Although my soul is furrowed by a thousand griefs and filled with suffering, when I cast my eyes on the men of the day, and on those in particular who arrogate to themselves the task of directing you, I still feel so much faith in my heart when I look prospectively on the future, and so much faith in you who will shortly become men, as gives me sufficient force to strike up the hymn of hope, and to prophesy your future destinies, even when I stand on the tombstone of the martyrs. A great mission awaits Italy. Europe at the present day is in search of religious unity. France with its revolution—(I mean not the sedition of 1830)—a revolution which but few have understood to the present day, *condensed in a gigantic manifestation the travail of several ages, and transfusing into political language the sum total of progress which the human soul had conquered\** during that period, closed a cycle of religious activity, which had received from God the mission of constituting by a special mission to that purpose MAN—the individual man—free, equal, opulent in rights and aspirations after a greater development. Since then, with a presentiment of the new epoch, of the epoch whose term of activity will be collective man—or HUMANITY, Europe wanders about in vacancy, seeking the new bond which is to unite in concord of religion the creeds, the presentiments, the energy of individuals who are now isolated by doubt, without a heaven, and consequently without the power to transform the earth. Groping between the despotism of Catholicism and the anarchy of Protestantism; between that unlimited authority which effaces man, and that freedom of conscience in the individual which is incapable of founding a social faith, the world calls for, and has the presentiment of a new and more extensive union, to rivet in comely and sacred harmony the two terms Tradition and Conscience, which are now opposed to each other, but which nevertheless are, and ever will be, the two wings which have been given to the human soul, on which she may soar to Truth—a unity taking its departure from the foot of the Cross, to guide man on the road to victory, embracing within itself and sanctifying every thing on its ulterior progress—a unity which shall reunite all different sects into one only people of believers, and out of all churches, oratories, and chapels shall erect to God that great temple, the Pantheon of humanity—a unity which out of all the revelations at

\* Rivoluzione non intesa finora se non dai pochi, compendia in una gigantesca manifestazione il lavoro di molti secoli, e traducendo nel linguaggio politico la somma di progresso conquistata in quelli dall'anima umana conchiudeva, &c.—*V. p. 75.*

different times made by God to the human species, shall constitute the eternal and progressive revelation of God to His creatures. This, to the attentive observer, is the vital problem which agitates the entire world; all those political questions which seem exclusively to put nations in motion, can be set at rest only by the solution of this problem—and the solution of this problem, O Italians! this unity which they invoke, cannot, under any circumstances, originate elsewhere than in your country, and in you; it cannot be inscribed on any other banner than on that which may be elevated on the summits of the two military columns which for upwards of thirty centuries have marked the direction of the life of humanity—the Capitol and the Vatican.

“From the Rome of the Cæsars issued the unity of civilisation, imposed in Europe by Force; from the Rome of the Popes issued the unity of civilisation commanded by Authority to a great portion of the human species: from the Rome of the people will issue, O Italians! when you shall be better even than you are at present, the unity of civilisation accepted for Humanity by the free consent of the people.

“For this faith it was that the Bandieras and their brethren in martyrdom died; for this faith, I too, their inferior in intellect and heart, but who in faith yield precedence to none—for this faith, if my desires do not deceive me, I also will die.

“Nevertheless, I do not call you to martyrdom; martyrdom is an object of veneration but not of exhortation; but I call on you to combat and to conquer. I call on you to learn to contemn death, and to venerate those who by their example have wished to teach you to do so; for I am aware that unless you feel a contempt for death, you will never be enabled to achieve victory. I call you to act and to agitate, while others call on you to simulate repose, because I know that continual action and agitation are the only means of inspiring your masters with uneasiness, terror, and that frenzy of persecution which produces general indignation: of inspiring in the Italians the consciousness of the abject condition in which they are vegetating, and the consciousness of the mission imposed on them; of inspiring in the nations of agitated Europe faith in your rights, and confidence in your intentions. Be ye comforted; our course is destined to triumph. The abominable men who now govern you feel it, and curse you; but the anathema they dash against us is lost in vacancy, like a bad seed wafted away by the wind. The sprouts which we put forth remain; in the soil hallowed by the blood of martyrs, God will give them fecundity; and even if the trees waxing from them are destined to cast their shadows only on our tombs, praise be to God! we shall be enjoying beatitude elsewhere. ‘Persecute us,’ we can say to the wicked, ‘but tremble.’ On a certain day, in presence of the flame which by orders of the Senate was consuming the history of which Cremitius Codrus was the author, a



Roman starting up, exclaimed 'burn me too in that pile, I know the history by rote.'

"Yet but a few days, and all Europe will respond with a similar exclamation to your stupidly ferocious persecutions. You may kill a few individuals, but you cannot kill an idea. An idea is immortal. In the midst of tempests an idea attains the stature of a giant, and like a diamond shines with a new light at every repercussion. The idea becomes more and more incarnate in humanity, and when you will have exhausted your rage and your brutal might on individuals who are merely precursors, the idea will rise up irresistibly in the majesty of the people, and will bury in the ocean wave of futurity your names, and even the recollection of your resistance, to the agitation of the generations which God stirs to movement."

The fact will appear incredible to our readers, but it is by singing rhapsodies similar to the preceding, that it has been in the power of Mr. Mazzini to exercise such influence over the youth of Italy.\* We defy—and in sight of the mass of absurd unmeaning trash clothed in pompous verbiage with which the press in Germany and France has overflowed, *usque ad nauseam*, during the last thirty years, we are aware that we expose ourselves to the imputation of rashness—we defy the production of a similar piece of arrant nonsense and cold-blooded atrocity combined, or a parallel exhibition of Gallo-Germanic-Italian philosophical rigmarole; and comparing cause with effect, we see a confirmation of the soundness of Oxenstiern's observation as to the small quantum of wisdom which is requisite to govern or to influence men.

But it would be well if this language were nothing worse than nonsense. Its impiety and blasphemy are such, that we have more than once hesitated whether we ought to allow our pages to be contaminated by its presence. The very motto on the book (impiously misapplied from St. Catharine) is a warning and omen of what we might have expected; but truly "the rankness of the dish is much beyond the villany of the foretaste." Martyrdom, Faith, Religion—words consecrated to the holiest uses, are sacrilegiously perverted to the purposes of impious faction, and the Name ineffable of the Highest and Holiest is familiarly bandied about with an irreverent familiarity which makes one shudder. The Cross

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\* We have several times seen lucubrations of Mr. Mazzini's besides those which have been printed.

of Christ is made the rallying point of a blood-seeking faction, and the great blessing of religious unity over the world made to depend upon the success of some dozen cut-throats, "accustomed to encounters with gens d'armes!" Surely no Catholic in England or Ireland will sympathise for a moment with men whose political principles are such a compound of insanity and blasphemy.

Yet it is not long since the *Chronicle* and other papers grossly attacked a Catholic Italian priest in London, for denouncing to his flock the school which this party, including, we believe, Mazzini himself, had set up for Italian youths, as being irreligious and anti-Catholic. The extracts just given from this man's publication will suffice to establish the charge. And as yet, by a letter lately published in the "Times," we are informed, that Mr. Mazzini beguiles his leisure hours by instructing poor Italian children, and that like a second Hamilcar, he daily makes them swear hatred to Austria at the altar of his God, who if that information be correct, is certainly not the God of Christians. Perhaps he also finds in this occupation a means to exercise his legislative and political talents, and to acquire, by governing little men, that experience which will be necessary should he ever be invested with the dignity of President of the Italian Republic. We hope, however, that the Italian governments, if no other means can be devised for the purpose, will adopt energetic means to prevent emigration, and thus paralyse the moral contamination of such a school, which can only contribute to increase the population of the *ergastoli*, and put fees into the pockets of the public executioner.

We sincerely hope that the Austrian and other Italian governments, far from throwing impediments in its way, will favour the circulation of Mr. Mazzini's insane publication. We consider it calculated to do much good, as it will tend to open the eyes of the few, the very few adherents of any consequence, who still cling to him and his murderous sect. For some time past the power of Mr. Mazzini has been on the wane. The bitterness of exile in some, the clemency of the Emperor in others, has exercised a salutary influence. The personal acquaintance made by many during the period of their emigration with the artificers of their sorrow or their ruin, has given them a nearer insight into the real principles and characters of their seducers; and those fathers of families, whom the

untoward events of 1832-3 and 4, violently severed from their families, studiously watch over their rising offspring, in order to prevent them from tasting the cup of bitterness from which they themselves quaffed so deeply.

But more than all these, the conduct of Mr. Mazzini himself has worked to reclaim them. They have seen him unceasingly, for the space of fifteen years, hatching revolution after revolution; in Piedmont, several times in the Romagna, in Modena, and Parma, and in the last instance in the kingdom of Naples, he has organised and directed actual insurrection, but he has always sedulously kept his own sacred person aloof from the remotest contingency of danger; from Corsica, from Marseilles, from the fastnesses of Switzerland he has successively acted the part of the

“Patris

*Cuncta supercilio moventis:*”

he has bid, and his fiat has been accomplished; but his discretion has been the better part of his valour, and precluded his taking an active part.

In the day of tumult, of agitation, of hazardous enterprise, he has repaired as near to the scene of action as was consistent with personal safety. He has let fly his hawks, and waited until the quarry should be stricken down, prepared to be the first among those to whom the French have given the graphic designation of “*Les hommes du lendemain:*” but the eagle has always evaded the fell swoop of the falcon, and the felon has retreated cowering and chastised. But when Mr. Mazzini's dupes have fallen in hecatombs, a whole-burnt offering to his evil passions, to his pretending and misplaced ambition, all his philosophical reading and experience have not been weighty enough to convince him, that in the hazard of conspiracy there is another alternative, when success does not place the wreath of laurel round the brows of the adventurer; though in the habit of making frequent allusions to the Capitol, he forgets or is ignorant, that it is only a few paces distant from the Tarpeian rock.

It is not the application to crowned heads of the epithets “impious,” “hyenas,” and other such pictorial designations, with which his vocabulary and that of his associates is rife, that will convince enlightened persons, in this country, that in repelling and repressing the “war to the

knife" which Mr. Mazzini has declared and waged against them, those sovereigns have resorted to unwarrantable reprisals—in Italy too, the stern and practical logic taught by unsuccessful sedition has dissolved the magic charm they may at one time have possessed.

In committing to paper the foregoing facts and observations, we are animated by no feelings of personal animosity towards Mr. Mazzini, whom we do not know and have never seen. We shall probably be set down by him and his associates as supporters of tyranny, and partisans of despotism; but we must humbly be permitted to repel the charge. For the hardy brave Tyrolese defending his mountain passes against the ruffianism of French usurpation and spoliation, or for the heroic Pole struggling to the last gasp against a ruthless despotism, which unites the cruelty of Domitian to the gloomy jealousy of Tiberius and the sinister arts of Fouché, we give his meed of applause if successful, and of tears when reverse mars his cause. But for the sneaking hole-and-corner conspirator, whose courage is confined to the insidious seduction of generous confiding youth, or to arming the hand of the assassin with the stiletto, which is to smite the heart of defenceless womanhood, we have no sympathy and no respect.

Our object in undertaking the task has been to prevent, as far as may lie in our power, any manifestation of interest in the question debated in parliament, in so far as Mr. Mazzini is concerned; and this, because we apprehend that any such manifestation would lead to evil results, by inducing the Italians to suppose, that public opinion in this country countenances, or is enlisted in favour of, the unhallowed machinations we have attempted to expose.

In so doing we have been impelled by feelings of affection towards the Italians themselves; whose magnificent genius, vast talents, sterling good qualities, and splendid virtues, few like us have had so many opportunities of witnessing and admiring; whose sincere warmth and disinterestedness of friendship, none more than ourselves has experienced and enjoyed.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- I.—*The Conquest of Scinde, with some Introductory Passages in the Life of Major-General Sir Charles James Napier*: dedicated to the British people, by Maj.-Gen. W. F. P. NAPIER. Part 1. London: 1845.

THIS work is by the author of the History of the Peninsula War, and has been written, the author tells us, for the express purpose of vindicating the character of his relation from the "factious accusations" of his opponents, and is the first part of a larger and more comprehensive work, which is to include the consideration of the political, military, and administrative proceedings of the Conqueror of Scinde. The first commercial intercourse of Britain with that country commenced in 1775, under the dynasty of the Meahs. After a short interruption it was again renewed by the efforts of Lord Wellesley, then Governor of India, in 1799. In the short interval, the Meahs had been deposed and succeeded by the Talpoors, a tribe from the neighbouring province of Beloochistan, and the supreme power became vested in the princes of the tribe, under the well-known title of the Ameers or Lords of Scinde. These by all the authorities are admitted to have been a cruel, vindictive, treacherous, oppressive, and withal drunken and debauched set of men; and when they exceeded the limits of even Mahometan license in these matters, it must be granted that their character must have been very indifferent indeed. But these will scarcely warrant aggression and spoliation in their opponents, or justify the English in depriving them of their land and liberty. But the truth of the whole business seems to be, that England wanted the Indus as a pathway for her commerce with the northern provinces of her eastern dominions, and the Indus it was determined to have. Like the Roman father's advice to his son, seems to have been the advice of England to her Indian representative, "*Rem recte si possis, si non quocumque modo rem.*" We regret that the author of the present work has merged the historian in the advocate, and writes as if truth had been less his object than the vindication of his relation's character. We may approve the motive, but we must at least look with suspicion on the statement, more especially when we find terms made use of, so unmeasured and sweeping in their praise and in their condemnation, as to seem incompatible with a just, and accurate, and impartial discrimination. The author appears to have overshot the mark at which he aimed; but his work is one that, even with these faults, will be read

with pleasure and profit. He will be more at home in the other parts, which are to describe military events that led to the conquest of the country.

II.—*Travels in Luristan and Arabistan.* By the BARON CLEMENT AUGUSTUS DE LA BODE. 2 vols. London: 1845.

MANY of our readers may be disposed to inquire where these two countries are, and to such it may not be unnecessary to say, that they are two provinces on the South-eastern borders of Persia, and forming part of that kingdom. That they possess many objects of interest to the learned traveller will be evident, when it is known that they contain the ruined remains of the mightiest monarchies that ever existed on the earth. When will Persepolis and Susa cease to have an interest for educated minds? With much of the information contained in these volumes the public have been already familiar in the pages of Niebuhr, Malcolm, Morier, &c., and the Baron de la Bode has added little to what was already known. The work should be rather designated "a ride through Persia," as the author seems to have performed his journey somewhat in the steeple-chase fashion, scarcely allowing himself time to do more than take a peep at an inscription in one place, and observe that there was something like a ruined monument in another; but such is his haste that he has time to make an accurate and attentive survey of very few. When his progress is arrested by the rain or snow, it invariably occurs among some wild mountain tribes where there is nothing to be seen. The present work is, therefore, rather suggestive than descriptive, and may, therefore, afford many a useful hint to those travellers whom curiosity or business may hereafter lead to visit the country. We hope that those who may follow in his footsteps may not have the bad taste of priding themselves at the conclusion of their labours of having travelled 1235 English miles in sixty-seven days, through countries where every stream has its historical associates, and where every stone is the monument of an empire.

III.—*Researches into the Physical History of the Asiatic Nations.* By Dr. PRITCHARD. 1 vol., London: 1844.

THIS work is a continuation of the learned author's labours on the physical History of the Nations of the Earth. The history of the European and African tribes has been some time published; and that on the native tribes of America remains yet to be done. All these works are but as it were materials for his Natural History of Man; but as we mean to return to the consideration of that subject in a longer notice, we shall only say that the present volume has been written with the author's usual learning and abilities.



IV.—*Walter Clayton: A Tale of the Gordon Riots.* 3 vols. London: 1844.

WE took up these volumes with some curiosity, as being upon a subject, the intent of which had been, we thought, entirely exhausted in Dickens's powerful tale. We had little doubt, therefore, that *Walter Clayton* would prove a feeble *rifacimento* of *Barnaby Rudge*. It is very far from this. While there is a good deal common to both tales, both in the facts and characters, yet there is in *Walter Clayton* a great deal of original thought, and the clear and forcible style of the narrative makes you forget that you are reading a subject which has before been treated even by such a master as Dickens.

It is the story of a young and generous lover, whose prospects both in love and in fortune are marred by the intrigues of as "double-dyed" a villain as the pages of romance ever exhibited. Sir Thomas Dixon is indeed the very ideal of an accomplished and unscrupulous villain; and his unhappy tool, Humphries, is a worthy pendant. In truth, one chief objection to the tale is, the very perfection with which these characters are sketched. It can serve no good moral end; and even the false excitement which it produces conveys no real pleasure to the reader, unless his taste has been formed in the *Jack Sheppard* school. We need hardly say that Dixon's schemes are all successfully countermined by the hero and his friends, and recoil upon their author in the end. More than this we shall not explain of the plot; the rest may be learned by a few hours of light and agreeable reading.

The writer evidently writes rapidly and without effort. We trust to meet him soon again, and we shall only suggest, in conclusion, that he will do well, when he next appears, to choose a less beaten track, and to do himself the justice of trying his powers, which undoubtedly are very considerable, upon a virgin subject.

V.—*The New Moon, or Royal Crichton Institution Literary Register.* 1844.

WHERE are we to end? This is, beyond all comparison, the most extraordinary publication of the age. A journal written, edited, and managed by the inmates of a lunatic asylum! And we must add, that it is very sensibly written, and betrays far less that a commissioner *De Lunatico Inquirendo* could fasten upon, than many an ambitious volume whose author never saw the walls of Bedlam in his life.

It is indeed a psychological phenomenon. We would gladly give a few specimens of its general character, but we must, for the present, content ourselves with merely directing attention to the curious fact of the existence of such a journal.

- VI.—*Maxims and Examples of the Saints, concerning divers Virtues very profitable for such as seek after Christian Perfection.* By AMBROSE LISLE PHILLIPPS, Esq. Vol. i. London & Derby: 1845.

SOME of our readers may know the Italian original from which this admirable volume is translated. It is one of the most complete manuals of Christian perfection we have ever met in any language; and the plan on which it is arranged is admirably adapted to ensure its practical usefulness. The several virtues are distributed among the months of the year; and a short meditation, with a familiar example, is assigned for each day of the month; so that the manual, in the course of the year, completes the entire cycle of Christian virtue. The volume now published contains half the work (January to June inclusively). It is introduced by a charming preface from the pen of the translator, and the style and manner of the translation are extremely creditable to his taste. They preserve that exact medium between a bald and meagre literal rendering, and an equally offensive flippancy of paraphrase, which is especially suited to ascetic reading. We trust the second volume will not be long delayed.

- VII.—*The Select Speeches of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, with a Commentary on his Career and Character.* By DANIEL OWEN MADDOX, Esq. 8vo. Dublin: 1845.

WE are induced to notice this cheap and handsome volume, more as an evidence of the growing literary taste of our people, than with a view to any critical observations upon it. *Grattan's Speeches* is one of a projected series—*The Irish Library*—and the typographical execution is extremely creditable to the spirited and enterprising publisher. This, indeed, is but one of many services which, within the last four years, Mr. Duffy has rendered to the daily increasing class of readers in Ireland. A series of valuable translations from the Italian of St. Alphonso—a number of most useful works on Irish history—a course of “weekly volumes,” principally ascetic, neatly printed, and extremely cheap—a handsome edition of the Lives of the Saints, besides an almost endless list of Prayer-books and other works of piety; all at a price which places them easily within the reach of the very humblest classes, might appear enough of work for a single publisher. But we see by a recent announcement, that he is about to commence the publication of a *Catholic Cyclopædia*, and of a series of Catholic Tales; an undertaking, perhaps, pregnant with more good than any of those in which he has already so successfully engaged.

The preparatory notice of Grattan's Life and Writings is an able composition, though we dissent from several of the writer's views. The selection of the speeches is very good. Our only objection to them is, that they are a *selection* at all. Why not give us the

speeches entire? We are much mistaken if there be not in the existing spirit of the country "ample room and range enough" for such a publication.

VIII.—*An Essay on Aerial Navigation, pointing out Modes of Directing Balloons.* By JOSEPH M'SWEENEY, M.D. Cork: 1844.

THE author of this work would have us believe that he is a practical man, and seems as much at home in all the details of the management of balloons, as if he had spent his life in the upper regions of the atmosphere. He tells us, in his title-page, that he is the author of a Prize Essay in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, on the weather of Ireland; and as we do not perceive any sensible change in the weather since that essay appeared, so neither do we think that the progress of Aerial Navigation will be much accelerated in consequence of the work before us. But, however sceptical we may be, it is gratifying to us to find that our author makes more than amends by the fervour of his devotion to his favourite pursuit. In fact, he is quite in earnest with his subject, and looks forward to the time when the balloon shall be the grand instrument of civilization; shall scatter the seeds of knowledge in remote tribes, and lead to the spreading of Christianity throughout the nations of the earth. In the fervour of his original mind, he anticipates a time when men shall pay morning visits to the Cape of Good Hope; go to take tea in Van Dieman's Land, giving a call at the court of Timbuctoo on their return, and that even missionaries shall be considered in nowise over adventurous who shall set off to Tahiti in one of his favourite vehicles. "It strikes," he says, "*at the very root of barbarism!* The savage will gaze at the light sphere above him, and acknowledge the supremacy of civilized men." Numerous and ingenious are the contrivances suggested by him to propel and regulate it on its course, Steam-engines, he *shrewdly observes*, are rather too heavy for the purpose, but much might be done by suspending long ropes from one town to another; somewhat might also be effected by long light oars; but for those who are determined in spurning the dull earth, and taking a higher flight, he proposes to employ trained falcons. Some of them to be kept in bags until their carnivorous propensities shall be quickened by hunger, and then to be tackled to the car. The particular direction in which they are to move being indicated by some provocation of their ravenous appetite; such as a piece of roast meat, which they ineffectually strived to reach. When the author shall have his travelling apparatus in order, and his falcons in perfect training, we shall, if we do not venture ourselves, be philanthropic enough to aid his benevolent exertions as best we can, by recommending them to the public, provided he pays the policy of insurance on our lives. But we

should venture to suggest, that a balloon is certainly a very Irish instrument of *striking at the root of barbarism*.

IX.—*Imagination and Fancy; or, Selections from the English Poets, illustrative of the first Requisites of their Art, with Markings of the best Passages, Critical Notices of the Writers, and an Essay in answer to the question, "What is Poetry."* By LEIGH HUNT. London: 1844.

It is no mean praise to say that this volume is worthy of Leigh Hunt. Every one who has a taste for poetry will read it with pleasure, and every one who wishes to acquire this delightful taste, should procure it with as little delay as possible. The pieces are very judiciously selected, and the peculiar and most striking beauties of each are marked off with much taste and judgment. As a specimen of the author's critical power, we shall quote a passage where he draws a distinction between Fancy and Imagination: "To come now to Fancy—she is a younger sister of Imagination without the other's weight of thought and feeling. Imagination indeed, properly so called, is all feeling—the feeling of the subtlest and most affecting analogies; the perception of sympathies in the nature of things, or in their popular attributes. Fancy is a sporting with their resemblance, real or supposed, and with airy and fantastical actions.

'Rouse yourself, and the weak wanton Cupid  
Shall from your neck unloose his amorous fold,  
And like a dew-drop from a lion's mane,  
Be shook to air.'

*Troilus and Cressida, Act 3.*

"What is Imagination?—the strong mind sympathising with the strong beast, and the weak love identified with the dew-drop.

"'You are now sailed into the north of my lady's opinion, where you will hang like an icicle on a Dutchman's beard, unless you do redeem it by some notable attempt.' *Twelfth Night*. And that is Fancy, one image capriciously suggested by another, and but half connected with the subject of discourse; nay, half opposed to it; for in the gaiety of the speaker's animal spirits, the 'Dutchman's beard' is made to represent the lady! One of the teachers of Imagination is Melancholy; and like Melancholy, as Albert Durer has painted her, she looks out among the stars, and is busied with spiritual affinities and the mysteries of the universe. Fancy turns her sister's wizard instruments into toys. She takes a telescope in her hand, and puts a mimic star on her forehead, and sallies forth as an emblem of astronomy. Her tendency is to the childlike and the sportive. She chases butterflies, while her sister takes flight with angels. Spenser has great Imagination and Fancy too, but more of the latter. Milton both also, the very greatest, but with Imagination predominant. Pope has hardly any Imagination, but a great deal of Fancy. Coleridge little Fancy, but Imagination exquisite." Those who wish to know more must buy the book and read it.

- X.—*A Catholic Story; or, Four Months' Residence in the House of a Convert from Protestantism.* By MARY C. EDGAR. London and Derby: 1845.

THIS is a charming little volume, and admirably suited to the times; written in a firm, but kindly, gentle, and, as might be expected, lady-like spirit. The title will sufficiently explain its plan. It is not a professed controversial defence, or even exposition, of Catholic doctrine; but simply such a plain and moderate explanation of those Catholic principles and practices at which a stranger most easily takes offence, as one might naturally expect an affectionate Catholic, especially a convert, to offer to an enquiring friend still lingering without the porch of the Church. The plan is in itself admirable, and, we must add, it is beautifully carried out.

There is a slight thread of story on which it hangs easily and agreeably. We shall not anticipate by any analysis the reader's pleasure in perusing it; it will be enough to say that the story is tastefully and judiciously executed; with just enough of romance to make the "sterner stuff" of the volume palatable, and enough of nature to enable every one to appreciate and enjoy it.

- XI.—*Memoirs of Miss Nano Nagle, and of the Ursuline and Presentation Orders in Ireland.* By the REV. DOMINICK MURPHY. Cork: 1845.

OF this charming little memoir it becomes us not to speak at much length, as a large portion of it appeared in our own pages during the last year. It must not, however, be supposed to be a mere reprint of the Review article, for it contains much additional matter, especially the whole correspondence of Miss Nagle as far as it has been preserved; a correspondence which it is impossible to read without emotion.

Our chief object in referring to it, even thus briefly, is to propose the example of its author for the imitation of all whose position may enable them to contribute towards the illustrations of the history of the Catholics of Ireland during the last two centuries. The materials from which Miss Nagle's life is compiled are of such a nature that, in all human probability, after a few years it would be impossible to render them available. There is still scattered through the country a vast amount of similar materials, written and unwritten. In twenty years from the present time, all will be lost, unless there be found some zealous collector to rescue them from ruin. Every letter, every fragment of a letter, may have its use, and if each county in Ireland possessed one or two such spirits as the author of *Miss Nagle's Life*, we have little doubt that much of the obscurity in which the history of the last two or three centuries is involved would be dissipated, or at least partially cleared away.

- XII.—*The Industrial Resources of Ireland.* By ROBERT KANE, M.D. Second Edition. Dublin: 1845.

We have already expressed our opinion of this admirable work, extremely useful at any time, but especially so at the present crisis, in the fortunes of our country. It has already reached a second edition. Unhappily few works on Irish subjects can appeal to the same evidence for success with the public. We shall only hope that, among its numerous readers, there will be found many, who, not content with reading and admiring, will reduce its principles to practice in their several departments of industrial enterprise.

The new edition, besides several additions, which bring the work down to the present time, contains four very useful and interesting maps, on the plan of those given in the census of Ireland.

- XIII.—*Lives of the Saints.* By the Rev. ALBAN BUTLER. Vols. 1—7. London and Derby.

THIS excellent reprint of Alban Butler's classic work is steadily advancing towards completion. It has now reached the 7th volume, which contains the month of July, and we trust that the remaining volumes will soon follow in the same rapid succession. It is a prodigy of cheapness, and comes like a blessing from heaven to thousands of poor families, for whom it has been a sealed book until now.

- XIV.—*Egypt and the Books of Moses, or the Books of Moses illustrated by the Monuments of Egypt.* By Dr. E. W. HENGSTENBERG. Translated from the German by R. D. C. ROBBINS, with additional notes by W. COOKE TAYLOR, Esq., LL.D. 8vo., Edinburgh: 1845.

As we mean to take an early opportunity of examining this work in detail, we shall only say for the present, that the edition before us forms a volume of the *Biblical Cabinet*, and is thus placed within the reach of many readers, to whom an expensive edition would be inaccessible. The translation, as far as our hasty examination warrants an opinion, appears to be well and carefully executed.

- XV.—*Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks; being a Geographical and Descriptive Account of the Expedition of Cyrus, and of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks, as related by Xenophon.* By W. F. AINSWORTH, Esq., F. G. S. 8vo., London: 1844.

MR. AINSWORTH acted in the capacity of surgeon to the late Euphrates expedition, and is already known by an interesting book of eastern travel. The nature of his present volume is imperfectly explained by the title. It is not properly a record of the author's travels in the track of the Greeks, but rather a paraphrastic sum-



mary of Xenophon's narrative adapted to the existing names of places. The narrative is often in almost the words of the original.

We regret that this plan should have been adopted, for it materially injures the interest of the work, though of course it does not affect its utility as a geographical commentary on the *Anabasis*. The narrative is necessarily interrupted by disquisitions on the sites of places mentioned in the text, so frequently that its continuity is often almost entirely destroyed, so that the book bears both characters, that of a modern description of the route of the Greeks, and that of a commentary on Xenophon's original account of the expedition. It would have added materially to the *readableness* of Mr. Ainsworth's book if he had drawn it up in the form of a personal narrative, and if he had interspersed more of a descriptive account of the existing condition of the countries traversed by this memorable army.

We have already declared, however, that this does not detract from its value considered as a contribution to the study of ancient geography. It is hardly possible, even after the labours of Rennell, Forster, Fraser, and the foreign illustrators of Xenophon, to over-rate its importance. The author has personally visited almost every portion of the route which he describes. Out of a journey of 3465 miles, there is not more than six hundred miles which he has not personally explored. There is one defect in the book which we regret; it is rather imperfectly illustrated with maps. But this inconvenience may, in good measure, be met by a reference to the larger work of the author, to which we have already alluded.

XVI.—*Life of St. Aloysius Gonzaga*. London and Derby: 1844.—*Life of Overberg*. London and Derby: 1843.

WE class these charming little books together, as well because they both issue from the press of the meritorious Derby Catholic Society, as because they are both (although one is the life of a canonized saint who died in early youth, and the other that of an obscure German priest who reached to a good old age), admirably calculated to take a place in a department of our literature, which is as yet extremely defective—the *Catholic Juvenile Library*. Happy they who draw wisdom in youth from such fountains as these!

The *Life of St. Aloysius* is a translation from the Italian of Father CEPARI. The *Life of Overberg* is a pleasing and accurate translation from the German, by the Hon. and Rev. Mr. SPENCER.

XVII.—*The Catholic Weekly Instructor*. (A penny periodical).—Nos. I.—XXVIII. Derby and London: 1844—5.

WE have been anxiously watching this interesting periodical from its commencement; at first with considerable apprehension for its stability, mingled perhaps with a degree of hope, which,

however, was far from sanguine. But now that we have seen it safely, and even successfully, through the earlier and more difficult stage of its existence, all our fears have disappeared, and we resign ourselves in trustful confidence to the anticipations of almost endless good, which we always entertained regarding it, if once securely established.

It was not that we doubted at any time of the resources of the Catholic body, or believed them either unable or unwilling to support such an undertaking. But we know, on the other hand, the vast expense which a publication at once so large and so low-priced must entail upon its conductors: and, on the other, we doubted whether our reading public was yet sufficiently organised to enable the proprietors to command a sale sufficiently extensive to cover the heavy and constantly-recurring outlay which it necessarily involved. We knew, by experience, that to meet an outlay of £100, it would be far easier to secure 400 purchasers at 5s. than 24,000 at one penny; and we were by no means certain that, although much has been done among us of late in the way of combined organisation, we had yet reached that perfection in little details, by which alone such a sale could be commanded. Still we admired and blessed the courage which prompted the undertaking; and we watched patiently the fortunes of the little adventurer which had boldly cast its line into the mighty waters of English literature. We have now to congratulate the public on the success of the experiment.

The "Catholic Weekly Instructor" is just what we want, and what we have long and earnestly desired to see. It supplies for the few hours of weekly relaxation which our poor over-worked people, young and old, are able to command, a fund of safe, useful, and attractive literature, calculated at once to withdraw them from occasions of dangerous reading, and to store their minds with abundance of useful and interesting knowledge. It is hard to expect that even the best will confine themselves to mere pious reading—general literature of some kind or other they must have; and it is well, therefore, to secure, for the service of morality and religion, that neutral ground, which it is possible to occupy for the worst purposes, and which, if it be left unoccupied, there are numberless enemies of our religion ready and eager to invade. The periodical before us appears to have been originated with this view; and every successive weekly number is a fresh evidence of the zeal and ability with which its conductors are determined to carry out their plan. While the basis is a course of solid Catholic instruction, controversial, historical, and moral, this design is not put forward too obtrusively. The casual student is not alarmed by an ambitious display of deep theological learning; the uncatholic reader is not revolted by angry and uncharitable attacks upon persons and things which prejudice has taught him to consider sacred and venerable; the lover of light literature is not

chilled by a parade of ostentatious spirituality, which reminds him of the pulpit or the morning lecture. There is just enough of lighter material to counterbalance the heavy matter which, in order that the work may serve a useful purpose, it is necessary to introduce; and what with music, poetry, tales, histories, biographies, science, and controversy, it is hard if it do not contain something suited to every taste, various as are the palates for which it is necessary to consult.

We would gladly submit some specimens, especially from the Tracts for the People, the Letters from Belgium, and also from the Tales; but, attractive as they are, this in the present state of our pages is utterly impossible. We shall, therefore, close with one word of suggestion to the managers of this most useful publication. We would respectfully urge upon them, that even though they may perhaps have secured by past exertions a circulation sufficient to cover the expense of the undertaking, yet a great duty still remains for them to accomplish. Their work is but half done, as long as there is a district, however remote, in which their magazine has not obtained a footing. It is intended for the people; and no effort should be considered too great which will secure its circulation among them. In truth, the very difficulty they will have to meet should be a stimulus to exertion, because it is an evidence of the existence of the want which it is their purpose to supply. Now we have reason to know, that there are numberless parts of the kingdom in which the *Instructor* is hardly known as yet by name. We are well aware, indeed, of the difficulties which are to be encountered, many of which can only be overcome by the co-operation of the clergy in the several localities; and our chief object in calling attention to the matter at all, is to suggest to the managers of the Weekly Instructor, the necessity of placing themselves in communication with the parochial clergy, especially in the rural districts, and enlisting their influence with their flocks in promoting the circulation. The sexton or clerk might be engaged as agent for the parish; or perhaps a plan similar to that adopted by all the religious book societies of the continent—*of giving a gratuitous copy to every one procuring six subscribers*—might be adopted with great advantage. But whatever may be its working details, it is only by some well organised plan that a circulation sufficiently constant and extensive can ever be secured.

Having presumed to say thus much to the conductors of the Catholic Weekly Instructor, we trust we may venture to promise that their exertions will be met in a corresponding spirit by the clergy, the influential laity, and by all friends of the diffusion of really useful knowledge among the people.

XVIII.—*Chambers' Miscellany of Useful and Interesting Tracts.*  
Vols. i. and ii.

THIS is a collection of juvenile reading of a different kind, and on a very different plan. The conductors of this *Miscellany* are too well known to require any introduction. In their "Journal," "Information for the People," and other publications, they have expressly kept clear of religious subjects, which they leave to the pastors of the several communions for which they write. Although we dislike and reject this divorce, especially in books intended for youth, yet in a mixed community like ours, it is to a great extent unavoidable, and is, of course, a thousand times preferable to the bigotry sometimes insidiously instilled, with which most of our general literature teems.

As a merely moral and intellectual teacher, the *Miscellany* well sustains the high character of the Messrs. Chambers' former publications. The volumes before us (the cheapest books we have ever had the good fortune to see) are extremely interesting and instructive: the historical and biographical notices, particularly those of Louis Philippe and of Switzerland, are brief yet very comprehensive; and the Tales are all admirably fitted for general reading. An abridged (and therefore improved) translation of De Saintine's *Picciola*, and of Zehokke's *Journal of a Poor Vicar*, will be read with great pleasure by persons of every age, and there is abundance of food for the young mind in the minor sketches which fill up the volumes.

XIX.—*Edinburgh Tales.* Conducted by Mrs. Johnstone. Parts i. and ii.

MRS. JOHNSTONE is the Miss Edgeworth of Scotland. If we knew higher praise we would bestow it. The Tales in which she now appears are but a reprint of a series written several years since; but they will be new to the vast majority of readers, especially the young readers for whom they are chiefly intended. Mrs. J., like Miss Edgeworth, always aims at something beyond amusement, and though her teaching is not directly religious, yet its tone is extremely instructive. The *Three Christmas Dinners* is an admirable lesson of prudence, and of disregard for the worthless opinions of the world; and *Mary Anne's Hair* is one of the most affecting tales we have ever read. Few, we think, however bigoted, will refuse their sympathy to sour Agatha, the poor exiled nun; and to disarm bigotry, even when mere human sympathy is the instrument, is to effect a great and sensible good.

XX.—*Shepperton Manor, a Tale of the Times of Bishop Andrews.* By the Rev. J. M. NEALE, B. A.

THE author of this little work informs us in his preface that, "its object is to present the reader with a picture of the English church

at the beginning of the seventeenth century" (*pref.*): further on he qualifies and explains this statement, by telling us that "the object of this tale is to teach, not what ought to be, but what at a given time were, the views of individuals; not what we might wish the Church to become, but what she actually was" (*ibid.*): and again he tells us that he has attributed to his characters "the language which I conceive they probably would have used—not that which I might wish to think they did use—much less that which I should have used myself. In short, they are speaking their own sentiments, not mine." (*ibid.*)

Now it is unfortunate that all this careful explanation of the author's *no-meaning*, has left us exceedingly doubtful as to what his object really is. Is it Mr. Neale's purpose to hold up this fancied picture of the Church of England merely as an object of curiosity, or of antiquarian research? We cannot think it. Such an object would scarcely merit the laboured care which the author has bestowed upon this work; yet of what value is it, if offered as a guide to professing neither the accuracy which could make it useful as a book of historical reference—nor even such a theoretical model of perfection as the author could upon principle recommend for imitation. Since we are thus unable to trace out the good which our author has intended to effect, we must be content to take his plan in all the narrowness and simplicity which his words can be supposed to imply; we must consider this tale as a representation of the probable workings of the Church of England in a secluded country village, and under the most favourable circumstances; there is nothing new or very striking in these happy accidents. We have the learned, pious, gentlemanly rector—the 'One fair daughter,' whose gentle ministrations of charity win a more easy way for his exhortations—the respectable abode in which rural simplicity are combined with comfort and refinement, a little more gothic than we have often the good fortune to see, but not more than most Englishmen could picture to themselves; we may fancy also all the incidents of beauty which such a pen as Mr. Neale's would group around them. It is a pretty picture, and the worthy rector is in the same style; he is charitable and decorous in conduct and language, and he has daily prayers in his church, at which his family and people dutifully attend. But this reminds us of an advantage the good man possessed, to which, as he was less entitled to it, so it is less commonly met with than the many others which surround him—he *had* a dutiful congregation; an obedient one.

But let us ask now from whence they derived the docility which enabled him to mould them to his wish. In some instances we are directly told of these good people, in others we are left to infer that this teachable disposition was a legacy from their ancient Catholic teachers, lingering still amid the purity of rustic manners—but already broken in upon, and evidently never to reach another gene-

ration. Let us see what arguments the Doctor's less fortunate successor must make use of to revive them:—

"'And you think,' said Prynne (the Puritan intruder), 'that my friend here, whose ministrations I have myself attended with singular profit, careth for your excommunications, as you call them? An you were a Catholic Priest, and did profess to have the keys of Heaven, it were well: but as you have them no more than we, or any other man, we shall not trouble ourselves concerning your threats.'

"'I shall not enter into a controversy with you, Master Prynne,' returned Dr. Lenton: 'I shall but pray unto God to turn your heart, which is, I fear me, at this present very far from Him. Yet I would pray you to observe, that the laws of this land will not allow the ministers of the Church to be bearded, as you would endeavour yourself to do this day; and if I find that you are contriving how to stir up schism among such as be otherwise peaceable and well-disposed, I shall be forced to take such measures as I know not whether you or I should dislike the more. And now, if you have no further business with me, I would fain be alone: first praying you, Master Fenton, to observe, that you are to receive this as an admonition.'"—(p. 179.)

These are truly the arguments of the Church of England, her invariable and sole means for obtaining obedience; how far they have been successful let the reader judge.

John Fenton continuing rebellious, the measures are put in force; he is formally excommunicated; and is so much inconvenienced by this interdict, that he does penance publicly in a white sheet, and is formally absolved. The Doctor must have owed this triumph also to the traditionary faith and zeal of his people; for what could he have done except draw down on his own head a storm of newspaper and parish fury, had he addressed his commands to people of whom one half considered the Church of England with dislike and distrust, and the other thought her a very respectable, decent sort of church *so long as she behaved herself*, and did not take too much upon her. Were we not Catholics, were we the most indifferent and philosophical of spectators, we think we should agree with them—what right has she to teach, who herself is for ever wavering, changing, at the best, learning. Even in the fond advocacy of Mr. Neale, what vacillation, how untrustworthy! Bishop Andrews speaks of Calvin, of those awful doctrines which have led—naturally and even reasonably led—so many thousands to premeditated guilt, and to despair.

"'I have been told,' rejoined the Bishop, 'that you, even as I myself, are no follower of Master Calvin's. And truly I am glad of it; for sure I am that the doctrine he teacheth tendeth rather to presumption and confidence, than to humility and reverence. *Yet hereby I condemn not him, nor them that follow his doctrine; neither yet do I approve of them, if any such there be, who have written too bitterly against it.* God grant that we all understand each other better, that each may love the other more!' 'Amen,' said Dr. Lenton. And the Bishop led the way to the supper-room."—(p. 56.)

And again, respecting transubstantiation, Bishop Andrews says:

"Therefore, as I like not those that say, He is bodily there; so I like not those that say, His Body is not there."

A Catholic lady is assured by Dr. Lenton that

"The use of prayers for the dead was as strongly held by Dr. Lenton as by Father Francis."



Yet further on we find this mystical and unintelligible gloss put upon the doctrine:

"At least," said Catharine, 'your good Lordship would say that all the prayers, both of myself and others, for her deliverance from Purgatory were nought and useless.'

"So far as respecteth this particular, for which they be offered," replied Andrews, 'no doubt, my child, they be utterly vain and very useless: but how far He, to whom they may be offered, may not, either out of the mere motions of His mercy, or out of respect to the mistake of the worshipper, return them an answer of peace, albeit in a way they looked not for, I will not pretend to affirm nor to deny: for far be it from me to limit God in His loving-kindness or in His power!'"

When it comes to this, we think private judgment is as good a rule as any other; and that even poor John Fenton might have pleaded it against his excommunication. But if no light has been thrown upon *essentials* by this gifted minister of the Anglican Church, has he at least settled those *minor* points which she is now controverting? we should think not.

We observe, in an elaborate description of the offertory, that it precedes communion; in this case we should presume there would be no doubt—we thought the point had been to establish the propriety of introducing the offertory, where communion did not follow. In this the author has not succeeded; and we could cite many other instances of the same kind. We pass over the *driest* arguments against Catholicism (used to the young lady who becomes the Doctor's convert), they are not worth much attention; but was it not unguarded to offer such a passage as the following to the comments of the present day?

"He never did then any countenance to his brethren of the Romish persuasion, my good Lord?" inquired Dr. Overton. "Never that I know of," replied Andrews; "but, indeed, they be so all but gone, hodie, et non cras, that perchance he thinketh they would do him small honour." "Indeed," remarked Montague, "they be at the very last gasp, and I think will never trouble the Church of England any more; and, indeed, what signs of life they show, be rather their last convulsions, than any proof of vigour or likelihood." "Even," added Donne, "like a ship, that having struck sail, runneth on by virtue of that force which before it had: or like one that being beheaded, his spirit hath sailed away in the two red seas flowing from his trunk and head, yet sometimes will he twinkle his eyes, and roll his tongue, as though he were beckoning and calling back his soul; yea, he will stretch out his hands, and pull up his feet, as though he did strive to overtake and to reach it. Yet be all these motions only so many tokens that all motion is over."—(p. 239.)

We will turn now from the more serious purport of the story to make a few remarks upon its manner—it is somewhat constrained; and this we think will always be the effect when an effort has been made to keep up the old style, or, as the author calls it, the "Conventional language of the time;" at least where its peculiar quaintness is heightened by a contrast with the easy flow of modern language, with which it does not harmonise. Where he escapes from this trammel to describe the glories of old buildings, the beauties of nature, or to bring out his characters by slight, but effective touches, we feel in full force the beauty of Mr. Neale's thought and language; we trust that we shall not offend by wishing him hereafter a happier field for their display.

XXI.—*The Church Restorers: A Tale, treating of Ancient and Modern Architecture, and Church Decorations.* By F. A. PALEY, M.A. London, John Van Voorst, Paternoster Row: 1844.

THIS story is exceedingly pretty, and so correct—with the exception of a few sentences here and there—so perfectly correct in doctrine, taste, and feeling, that we can cordially recommend it to the attention of our Catholic readers. How it happens that its merit does not belong to ourselves; that such a work should come from one who can still, even though it be for fashion's sake, talk of the “errors of popery,” is a problem we cannot solve. It is not for us to fathom the designs of Providence towards those who, for some inscrutable purpose, are obliged to point out to others the promised land, into which they seem themselves forbidden to enter. The present work at least we may consider, without reference to the quarter from whence it came, as being in itself nearly unexceptionable. The plan of the story is simple, yet exceedingly well adapted to its purpose, of illustrating the progress and the decline of Christian architecture. The author begins with a simple Saxon Church, built by a band of persecuted Christians, flying from the Danes, so early as the year 870; built upon a spot made holy by a miracle, worked through the relics of the Saint Winifred, and a second time blessed, as the resting-place of the priest at whose intercession it was worked, and who becomes the subject of another miracle, when four centuries after, his body was found fresh and perfect, blood issuing from the wounds of his martyrdom. The rude, but venerable building is sheltered by a stately abbey; we cannot give the description of it, but let it be judged of by the beauty of the few following lines: “The great bell, Gabriel, brought from over the seas by a benefactor of the abbey, and consecrated by the hand of Pope Innocent III., was tolling for matins, or midnight prayers; and softly did its silver sound steal over the entranced ear of the watchful and timid inhabitants of the vale. For the lonely forest glades had an ill name among the simple and credulous people; but the deep tone of that mighty bell was well known to all as a charm against storms and lightnings, conflagrations, meteors, and every evil influence of the powers of the air. No one failed to cross himself, and say Pater Noster at its heavenly note. It was the consolation and assurance against the perils of the night.” p. 13. A noble and Christian gentleman takes up his abode near the abbey, and under his munificent auspices, the church is enlarged, and receives all the splendour of Norman architecture; the description of the *instinctive* manner in which the finest effects are produced by artists deeply impressed by the religious feeling and purpose of their work, is most interesting; he speaks of the “chief Cementarius,” who would “frequently come and survey the work, as the walls rose gradually in height, and

scanning with intelligent eye the different points of perspective and effect, would order this arch to be more acute, this to be more obtuse; one window to be a little shorter and wider in the splay, one to be divided by a mullion, one to have a trefoiled head, and so on," *p.* 27. We should think this must have been the truth. From the piety of succeeding generations the Church receives successive adornments, until it has reached the height of splendour—then comes the "wicked King," the horrible spoliation disfigurement, and fall—of this Church and of countless others; and then "the judgment came, and fearfully and visibly it fell. Great families, one by one, became rapidly extinct. Awful deaths, grievous visitations, fruitless marriages, were the penalties which attended sacrilegious wealth. Property passed from hand to hand, but remained with none. The finger of God was manifested against the deeds of that day; but man in his blindness saw it not," *p.* 63. But of our Church the end is not yet. It passes gradually through every phase of protestant disfigurement; it loses its leaded roof, its chancel, its windows, altar, font, screen, paintings, sculptures; and gains instead of them the neat Venetian casement, the snug galleries, the well-lined pews, the stove whose chimney passes through the eastern window, &c. &c. the poor old church is metamorphosed into an unseemly conventicle, shabby, damp, dilapidated. Then comes the period of its restoration; there is real pleasure in following the author through the process—we can fancy nothing more likely to make men "Church Restorers;" to hunt out the tracery of some long bricked-up window, to clear away plaster and pagan monuments, the doing which would in itself be a pleasure, and find yourself rewarded by the discovery of some curious diapering, some fine old brass, or other forgotten treasure!! Taste alone would make this delightful; what would it be to the Catholic, who would at every step render a filial duty to his fathers, and recover precious memorials of their faith wherewith to strengthen and enrich his own. Second (if, indeed, inferior) to this happiness, comes that of building ourselves churches for our children, in which they learn and enjoy our faith, pray over our graves, and bless our memories. Many Catholics may enjoy this gratification of every natural, noble, and religious feeling; and to all who have the means and the will to do so, we can sincerely recommend this unpretending volume. In very many points we recognise the ideas of the chief restorer of churches and church architecture—Pugin; not, however, servilely copied, but adopted, as it were, naturalised—in a mind of such taste and feeling as Pugin would rejoice in, and in the "Church architect" learned, zealous, unwearied, "never undertaking any church-building engagement without leaving some gift of his own as a thank-offering for the privilege he has enjoyed." Such a Church architect, in short, as without whom nothing great, our author tells us, can be performed, we recognise in one who has

already done such great things for the Church, and will live, we trust, to restore much of her ancient splendour in this land.

XXII.—*Spicilgium Romanum*. Tomus ix. 8vo. Romæ: 1843.  
Tomus x. 8vo. Romæ: 1844.

ANOTHER monument of the indefatigable industry of Cardinal Mai! These immense volumes, each containing about a thousand crowded pages, complete the collection, the earlier volumes of which we noticed at considerable length in a former number. For the present, we must content ourselves with this simple announcement. Hereafter we shall endeavour to draw up a summary of the contents of these concluding volumes, which are amongst the most interesting and diversified in the entire collection. Among the older authors whom they comprise, are Eusebius of Alexandria, Photius, St. John Damascene, and our countryman, Sedulius. Of the more recent, we shall only mention Paggio, Onuphrius Panvinus, and Vespasiano, whose biographical sketches of his contemporaries are contained in the first volume of the *Spicilgium*. We hope to return to the subject in our next number.

XXIII.—*Eothen; or, Traces of Travel brought home from the East*. Second Edition, 1845.

"TRACES of Travel," "Notes of a Traveller," "Personal Observations," &c. &c. Such and such like are the titles which introduce the works of our modern travellers—apologetical, deprecating all criticism and high-raised expectation, and claiming beforehand every allowance for haste, for error, and deficiency of information. We must confess that we look back with regret to the days of good Sir Robert Porter, and others of his class, when travels answered to their name, and were in truth descriptions of the countries professed to have been visited. But rapid travelling has produced the rapid and slight sketches to which we are now accustomed, works of which the interest is entirely personal; turning not upon the countries visited, but upon the traveller who visits them—his manner of thinking and describing—his adventures—his peculiarities. Such a book is *Eothen*, but decidedly the most brilliant, the most original, and the most entertaining of its class—it is in fact the most entertaining book we have for a long while had the good fortune to meet with; there is not a page in it that is dull, or common place; and the author's narrative of his adventures, his most original impressions and whims, and the frolicsome gallantry of his escapades, is given with as much zest and freedom as if he were relating them to a congenial friend in all the joyousness of their first re-union. He says himself, "I believe I may truly

acknowledge, that from all details of geographical discovery, or antiquarian research—from all display of sound learning and religious knowledge—from all historical and scientific illustrations—from all useful statistics—from all political disquisitions—and from all good moral reflections, the volume is thoroughly free.” But he adds, “If you bear with him (the traveller) long enough, you may find yourself slowly and slightly impressed with the realities of Eastern travel.” Neither “slowly” nor “slightly.” What the author has undertaken he has admirably performed. Nothing can be more vivid than the impression he has left us of the scenes which caught his own attention—nothing more agreeable than the observations of the vigorous and companionable mind through which we receive them.